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The Archaeology of San Antonio's Main Plaza, Investigations at 41BX1753

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The Archaeology of San Antonio's Main Plaza, Investigations at 41BX1753

by

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Dedication

Dedicated to M.L. Scone, G.A. Gustoferson and G.R. Gerschwitz.

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Abstract

The Archaeology of San Antonio's Main Plaza, Investigations at 41BX1753

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This thesis documents the fieldwork component of the archaeological survey, testing, and data recovery efforts associated with 41BX1753, a historic-age site located in downtown San Antonio, Texas. This paper details the project's activities and results and provides feature and artifact descriptions. Furthermore, this work provides a contextual analysis of 41BX1753 based on the artifacts recovered and the archival record. In the report, I explore the social, political and economic relationships in San Antonio's past through the study of the material and archival records associated with a single property and its residents. Examined within a greater historical context, these records are indicative of choices made by some of San Antonio's most influential residents indicating

a sense of identity and status, as well as strategies of adaptation and accommodation to ensure stability in the face of constant change.

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Introduction

In the spring of 2007 I was appointed as Post Buckley Schuh and Jernigan, Incorporated's (PBS&J) project archaeologist for the cultural resource survey and monitoring effort for the Main Plaza Redevelopment Project in downtown San Antonio, Texas. This project, located within the Main Plaza and the surrounding blocks, entailed a massive overhaul of the plaza that included numerous ground disturbing activities. Because is would impact a historically significant area in San Antonio, the project required an intensive archaeological survey and a substantial construction monitoring effort. The initial survey work, performed by PBS&J, was done under contract with the City of San Antonio (COSA) and covered under the Texas Antiquities Permit Number 4297.

Late in the summer of 2007, during the mechanical excavation for the project's new stormwater drain, the backhoe encountered what became known as Feature 1 (F1) of archaeological site 41BX1753 (figure 1). Further excavation would reveal that this site, located along the east side of South Main Street and just west of the Béxar County Courthouse, was composed of five buried cultural features representing over a century of occupation on the south side of the Main Plaza.

Subsequent to locating 41BX1753, PBS&J conducted National Register of Historic Places (NHRP) testing on four of the five features (F2, F3, F4, and F5), followed by 100% data recovery of Features 2 and 3 performed under Texas Antiquities Permit Numbers 4297 and 4495 respectively. In total, PBS&J recovered 17,669 artifacts from the five features, a collection representative of San Antonio's history spanning the Spanish Colonial Era to the twentieth century.

The following Master thesis documents the fieldwork component of the archaeological survey, testing, and data recovery efforts associated with 41BX1753. This paper details the project's activities and results and provides feature and artifact descriptions. Furthermore, this work provides a contextual analysis of 41BX1753 based on the artifacts recovered and the archival record. In the report, I explore the social, political and economic relationships in San Antonio's past through the study of the material and archival records associated with a single property and its residents. Examined within a greater historical context, these records are indicative of choices made by some of San Antonio's most influential residents indicating a sense of identity and status, as well as strategies of adaptation and accommodation to ensure stability in the face of constant change.

Project Description

The Main Plaza Renovation Project was a dual-stage endeavor to make improvements to the historic center of San Antonio. Sponsored by the city and its taxpayers, phase I of the Plaza renovation project included the implementation of a major storm-water system to improve drainage in and around the plaza. Impacts associated with these improvements were located throughout the plaza as well as along Dwyer Avenue, East Nueva Street and along South Main Street. The second phase of the project entailed various amenity enhancements located throughout the Main Plaza including an upgraded fountain in the center of the plaza and creating an access point to the adjacent Riverwalk (figure 2).

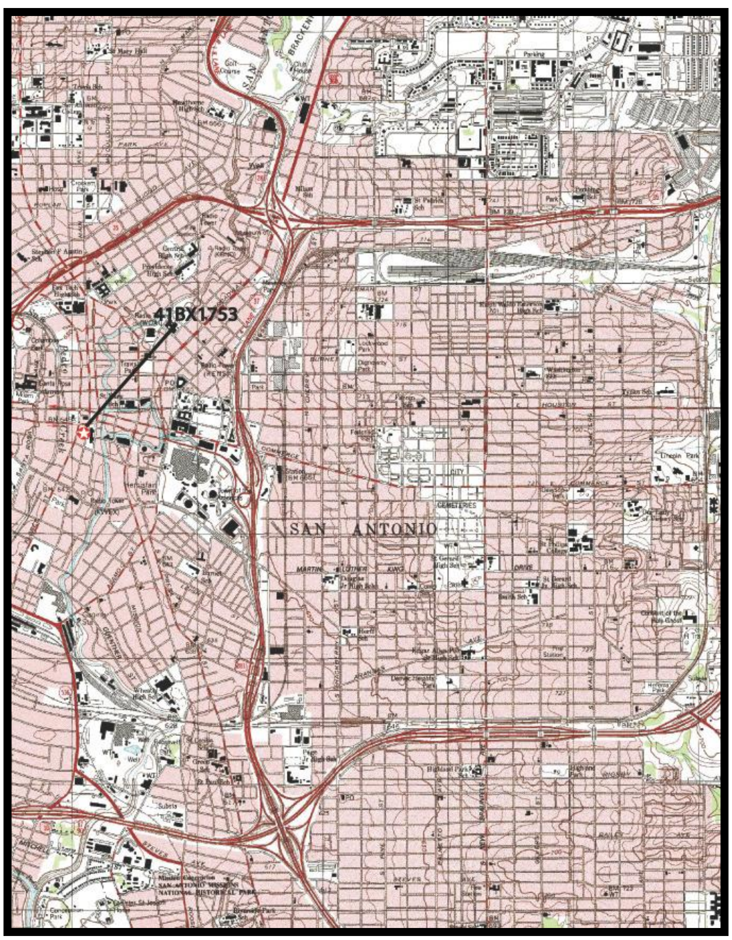


Figure 1: 41BX1753 Location (USGS, 1992)

The Main Plaza, or Plaza de las Islas, is situated in downtown San Antonio and is located within the NRHP-listed Main and Military Plaza District. The project area also encompassed significant historic sites, including the San Fernando Cathedral (41BX7) and the State Archaeological Landmark (SAL), the Béxar County Courthouse. As a major project funded by tax payers, and located within one of the city's most historic locales, COSA was required to comply with its obligations under the Antiquities Code of Texas (ACT) to assess the potential for intact archaeological deposits to exist within the project area. In seeking compliance, COSA contracted PBS&J to perform an intensive archaeological survey consisting of a series of backhoe trenches located within the proposed impacts' footprints supplemented by construction monitoring throughout the plaza. A combined effort between PBS&J archaeologists, the City Historic Preservation Division's (hereafter CHPD) archaeologist, Kay Hindes, and the Texas Historical Commission (hereafter THC) reviewer, Mark Denton, determined methodology and protocol.

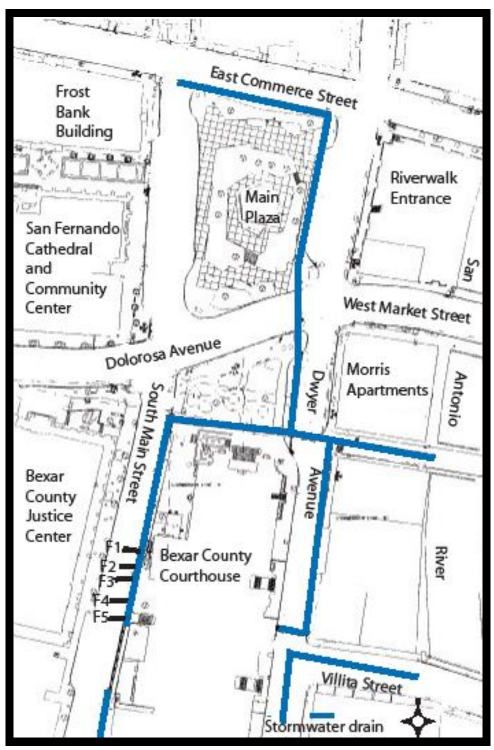


Figure 2: Stormwater drain footprint and 41BX1753 location.

Long after the intensive survey was completed, PBS&J archaeologists located 41BX1753 while monitoring excavation associated with the phase I stormwater drain work. After encountering and removing F1, PBS&J archaeologists recommended mechanically scraping the remaining 30 feet of the storm-water drain footprint and located four additional features. NRHP testing commenced shortly after encountering 41BX1753, where PBS&J archaeologists hand-excavated five units to test, F2, F3, F4, and F5. In the month after testing was completed PBS&J submitted an interim report to the THC recommending 100% data recovery to be performed on F2 and F3. The THC concurred with PBS&J's recommendations and these two features were removed via hand-excavated units and mechanical excavation.

Upon completion of the fieldwork, artifacts were analyzed at PBS&J in Austin, Texas. Due to budgetary conditions between PBS&J and COSA, analysis of 41BX1753 has not been completed. To date, of the 17,669 artifacts recovered from the site, 8,363 pieces of faunal material, representing 47% of the entire collection, have not been analyzed. This percentage is heavily weighted by the Feature 2 collection, where 5,749 pieces of faunal material comprise an overwhelming 74% of all artifacts recovered from Feature 2. Respectively, faunal material comprises 12% of all artifacts from Feature 1, 23% of artifacts from Feature 3, 23% from Feature 4, and 39% from Feature 5. While these unanalyzed data represent a major shortfall for this project, the large number of previously recorded sites located in the project area vicinity and in the region provides a comprehensive faunal assemblage relevant to the 41BX1753 collection (Figueroa and Maudlin 2005; Fox 1977; D. Fox et al. 1977; Katz et al. 1978; Labadie 1986).

As project archaeologist for the plaza renovation project, I oversaw the daily field effort including all excavation at 41BX1753. While many PBS&J archaeologists participated throughout the project, the day to day field crew for the plaza renovation project was essentially comprised of Mike Smith, PhD. and I, who also performed the majority of the field work at 41BX1753. Nesta Anderson, PhD. served as Principal Investigator on the project and Eugene Foster as PBS&J's Historic Resource Division

Program Manager engaged in all administrative duties involved with the project. Portions of the artifact analysis were completed by Haley Rush, Mike Smith, Amy Borgens, and by me.

Previous Investigations

Previous archaeological investigations in downtown San Antonio are numerous and provide a great deal of information about the city's long history of occupation. As a site, the five features at 41BX1753 are representative of various eras within the city's settlement history, making a comparative analysis between other sites in San Antonio and 41BX1753 quite beneficial.

The archaeological investigations performed at the Mission San Antonio de Valero (the Alamo) in the 1960s and 70s were some of the earliest conducted in downtown San Antonio. Early work by Schuetz (1966, 1973), Tunnell (1966), Greer (1967), Sorrow (1972), and Fox et al. (1977a) were especially insightful in examining aspects of eighteenth and nineteenth century activities at the mission and the surrounding areas. More recent large scale projects in downtown San Antonio such as the Alamodome Project (Fox et al. 1997), the Convention Center Expansion Project (Tennis and Cox 1998), and the Rivercenter Mall Project (Fox and Renner 1999) also provide a wealth of information pertaining to various eras of occupation in downtown San Antonio.

In the more immediate area to 41BX1753, the 1975 excavations at the San Fernando Cathedral (41BX7) by the Texas Historical Commission recovered artifacts indicating activities dating from settlement to the late nineteenth century, where lithic artifacts (such as chert flakes and bifaces) compliment a wide variety of European ceramics, glass, metal, and faunal material. Further work located at the northwest side of the cathedral performed by the Center for Archaeological Research at the University of Texas San Antonio (CAR-UTSA) in 1977 located deposits believed to be the attributed to San Antonio's earliest non-indigenous settlers (Fox et al 1977b; Figueroa and Maudlin 2005).

Also in 1977, Anne Fox and CAR-UTSA published the report on the work completed in 1976 at the Spanish Governor's Palace, located west of the Main Plaza on the west side of the Military Plaza. Fox's 1976 investigation revealed that the building at this location had been subject to considerable modifications, with only remnants of the original structure located at the northern end of the building including the front wall and the caliche floor. Artifacts associated with the original Spanish Colonial era portion of the structure indicated that the building dated to as early as 1725 (Fox 1977). The 1976 excavations also located what were believed to be parts of the original presidio structure that had been disturbed by modern construction. CAR's later excavations at the Spanish Governor's Palace in the 1990s located the building's foundation as well as numerous artifacts dating to the nineteenth century including numerous faunal remains (Fox 1997).

CAR also completed a major archaeological survey and testing project complete with valuable archival research for the Béxar County Justice Center project. This investigation, which nearly spanned a decade, recorded various domestic sites on the south side of the Main Plaza dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Located directly west of 41BX1753, this investigation recovered data similar to the 41BX1753 investigations where excavations produced a variety of eighteenth and nineteenth century artifacts indicating continuous occupation and diverse land-uses along the south side of the plaza. In addition to the domestic sites, this project also documented a portion of the San Pedro Acequia, located at the southwest corner of the plaza. The San Pedro Acequia, one of many irrigation ditches within San Antonio's expansive irrigation system, dates to as early as 1719. This acequia has been subject of numerous investigations including during the Main Plaza Renovation Project when PBS&J archaeologists encountered the ditch just east of the San Fernando Cathedral (Anderson unpublished; Cox 1986, 1995; Nickels et al 1996). According to these studies and numerous historic maps, the acequia was located west of, and in close proximity to 41BX1753 (Appendix A).

Another investigation similar to, and in the direct vicinity of the current investigation is the work performed at the Ruiz family property (41BX795), located just south of the Military Plaza. This archaeological and archival investigation revealed that the Ruiz family was a prominent family in San Antonio's history, and that their occupation within the city spanned the 1700s through the early twentieth century (Uecker et al. 1991).

Other investigations relevant to the current discussion include the 1985 excavations performed in La Villita (41BX677). Originally the site occupied by Coahuiltecan speakers, La Villita was subsequently occupied by Spanish settlers as early as 1722 and continuously occupied until the twentieth century, and is now utilized as a historic tourism locale (Magruder 2010). During this investigation CAR recorded a trench fortification attributed to Santa Anna's occupation of the city during the Siege of the Alamo in 1836 (Labadie 1986). Additionally, CAR also encountered numerous cultural features including a midden feature dense with faunal material.

Similarly, during the Main Plaza Renovation Project, PBS&J archaeologists recorded features similar to those recorded by CAR's 1985 investigations at La Villita. Located at the intersection of Dwyer Avenue and Old Dolorosa, just east of 41BX1753, PBS&J archaeologists investigated 41BX1752, a large early nineteenth century midden with what appeared to be a contemporaneous ditch feature bisecting the midden. Military artifacts located within and near the trench feature, and limited archival research indicate that the trench feature may have been a Mexican Army fortification trench associated with the Siege of Béxar in 1835 (Anderson unpublished).

CAR's 2005 excavations at 41BX1598, located at the northwest corner of the Military Plaza, sampled two midden deposits. Of these two middens, the northern one displayed depositional zones dating to the 1750s through the 1860s with artifacts including Spanish Colonial ceramics, glass, metal, burned rock, lithic debitage, and an extensive faunal assemblage. The majority of the southern midden appeared to be contemporaneous with the northern midden, only the southern midden contained a small basin-shaped deposit with lower clear depositional zones that may have been protohistoric (Figueroa and Mauldin 2005). CAR also recorded a variety of structural remnants, one of which appeared to be colonial-aged and possibly related to the San Antonio de Béxar Presidio. Other walls uncovered were most likely associated with the nineteenth century St. Joséph's Orphan Asylum. Six isolated pit features were also found during excavation, all post-dating 1860.

Finally, PBS&J's 2008 investigation associated with the Béxar County Courthouse Waterproofing project encountered a buried cultural deposit and the remnants of a cut limestone foundation on the property immediately east of 41BX1753. While the features located during this investigation were determined to be of little research value, the archival investigation included in this 2009 report is relevant to the current discussion. Like CAR's Justice Center investigations, the archival investigation prepared by PBS&J outlines the ownership history and property uses on the south side of the Main Plaza, a history with clear connections to the current investigation. According to PBS&J's archival investigation, the courthouse tract and the current subject tract were originally granted to Juan Leal Goraz, one of San Antonio's original Canary Island settlers and the city's first Alcalde (Hanson 2009).

Archival and Contextual History

This work focuses on examining a history of social, political and economic relationships during San Antonio's past through an archival investigation of one of the city's localities. The purpose of this archival study is to assist in creating a narrative situated around the archaeological site 41BX1753 (the Main Street Features), located on the south side of the Main Plaza in downtown San Antonio. As an archaeological site, 41BX1753 is representative of the occupation of a single city lot spanning the eighteenth century through the early 20th century. However, the space where the site is located transcends time, as the parcel's present uses and historic contexts lie in the shadows of the city's past.

This archival investigation explores the written record of the tract as well as the documented remains of the agents associated with it. Focusing on a prominent piece of real estate in the center of Béxar, an archival study of this kind may, at times, seem to privilege elite families. In an attempt to narrate beyond a caricature of San Antonio's prominent citizens, I will pursue a meaningful analysis of the economic, political, and social relationships as they appear in the archival record. Furthermore, I want to evaluate how these relationships changed through time.

The history of occupation on this parcel encompasses major political revolutions rooted in economic struggles. The Main Plaza witnessed these revolutions, as well as the acts of social positioning by those associated with the community took during these revolutions. The isolated frontier colony of San Antonio produced a unique social hierarchy and distinctive economic conditions that influenced the community's role as a counter-revolutionary junta overturned Hidalgo's revolution in 1811. However, less than two years later, a refashioning of the same revolution received exceptional support from San Antonio's elite families to "seriously threaten" the Spanish presence in the New World (Poyo et al 1996: 29). I argue that the counter-revolution in San Antonio during the Casas Revolution in 1811 and the political support afforded to the Gutiérrez-Magee Expedition in 1813, are actions of social positioning that the Béxar elite took to protect their interests and to sustain social hierarchies. These acts of social positioning had the underlying motive to push Béxar to economic and political autonomy. Elite Béxarenos viewed the Casas Revolt as disorganized and possibly threatening to their positions within their local hierarchy. The United States-supported Gutiérrez-Magee expedition entertained the concept of San Antonio autonomously entering an expanding North American capitalist society without threatening the existing class system. Created prior to 1811, these tensions were the same that fueled the Texas Revolution in 1835, when Tejanos and Anglos attacked the Mexican army on the Main Plaza (Poyo et al 1996: 13). Following Texas's independence and its subsequent absorption into the United Sates, San Antonio, and Texas in general, further pursued its position in the North American capitalist economy under whichBéxarenos and Tejanos encountered a new matrix of economic, social and political relationships that they would have to navigate.

It is with this politico-economic analysis in mind that I begin this archival investigation. Through an investigation of the tract's ownership history, contextualized with events recorded in the archives and the general historical descriptions surrounding these events, I expand upon this politico-economic analysis to create a narrative that reflects the unfolding of certain social, political, and economic relationships during the land's occupation.

Community and Identity Formation

The Spanish did not become interested in the area we know as Texas until the mid 17th century (Wade 2003). It was not until 1690 that the Spanish Crown sent General Alonso de León to explore the area around present-day San Antonio (San Antonio Bicentennial Heritage Commission 1976). Exploration of northern New Spain and the eventual settlement of San Fernando de Béxar began as a strategy by the Spanish throne to protect its holdings in New Spain from an expanding French presence in Texas and Louisiana. After failed attempts to establish missions near Nacogdoches and on the Neches River in 1693 and 1690 respectively, Spain was finally able to establish a presence in northern New Spain in 1700 with the founding of Mission San Juan Bautista along the Rio Grande (Weddle 1968).

The first attempt at establishing a presence in present-day San Antonio came on May 1, 1718, when Don Martín de Alarcón chose a location on the west bank of the San Antonio River for Mission San Antonio de Valero and selected another location for Presidio San Antonio de Béxar and Villa de Béxar on San Pedro Creek (de la Teja 1995: 8). In 1722, the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, governor of Coahuila and Texas, relocated the presidio and villa to a new location on the west side of the San Antonio River. In 1720, the government authorized the establishment of another mission, Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, approximately five miles south of Mission Valero. This was followed by the founding of three additional missions along the San Antonio River in 1731 including missions Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña, San Francisco de Espada and San Juan Capistrano (Chipman 1992).

In 1723, King Philip V of Spain recruited 400 families from the Canary Islands to permanently settle Texas (Cruz 1988). The King promised these potential settlers free passage to New Spain, free land, and the status of hijos d'algo (hidalgo), a traditional title of Spanish nobility (Jackson 1986: 14). By March of 1731 a much smaller group of sixteen families of Canary Islanders finally arrived in San Antonio. Upon arrival, the Canary Islanders encountered an established mission and presidio community of about twenty five households, which, including the recently arrived settlers, combined for an estimated population somewhere between 242 and 310 people (de la Teja 1988: 75).

It was not until July of 1731 that Captain Juan Antonio Pérez de Almazán began to survey property for the villa beginning "from the place designated for the church" and in the process, laid out the community's main plaza that would become La Plaza de las Islas (Spell 1962: 84). Opposite and east from the church was the spot set aside for the Casa Reales (Government Seat), and all other lots surrounding the plaza were to be residential lots for the newly-arrived Canary Islanders. The remainder of the land between the San Antonio River and the San Pedro Creek was allotted as farmland for the Canary Islanders.

The original division of the residential lots was based upon family status. Because of conflicts among the residents, the final partitioning did not occur until 1734, at which time "several members of the Leal family" received grants fronting onto the south side of the Main Plaza (Plaza de las Islas), including the subject tract (Chabot 1931: 111). Due to the paucity of written records pertaining to these original eighteenth century transactions, it is unclear how the tracts on the south side of the plaza were initially divided amongst the Leal family. As a result, most of what is known about the early property history of the subject parcel is based on both primary genealogy research and secondary sources that indicate the parcel containing 41BX1753 remained in the Leal family until the early nineteenth century.

The Leal family was led by Juan Leal Goraz Sr., a man described as "tall, long faced, blind in the left eye, with thick black beard and hair, dark complexion, sharp nose, and light gray eyes" (Spell 1962: 74). Upon landing in Veracruz, the Canary Island settlers appointed Goraz Sr., the oldest male of the group, as their leader. His leadership continued once the settlers reached San Fernando de Béxar, where Goraz Sr. was given the title of Alcalde for life, a title he regularly proclaimed and the privileges of which he often abused (Buck 1949: 166). As with all Canary Island settlers, Goraz Sr. and his descendants reserved the prominent position of Islenos (Islanders) and Pobladores (settlers) in San Antonio's sistema de castas (casta system) for themselves (de la Teja 1995: 24). Goraz Sr. in particular became infamous through asserting his position by filing absurd demands with the viceroys and the governors, causing disturbances within the community, and claiming the privileges of hijos d'algo (Leal 1992). These privileges included strict control over "land and water resources," especially those in the prestigious and guarded town center and the fertile agricultural lands just outside of the community (de la Teja 1995: 77).

The earliest record obtained regarding this tract occurred upon the passing of Juan Leal Goraz Sr. in 1743 when his sons, José and Bernardo Leal, were appointed administrators of his estate. Translated documents from the Béxar County Archives reveal that Bernardo had lived in his father's household prior to his death and continued to do so afterwards. On March 4, the Chief Justice of the Royal Presidio, Captain José de Urrutia, conducted an inventory of his estate. Along with his other property, the inventory included "the lands and day of water granted on the terms set forth in the certificate of partition of lands among the Canary Island settlers which were granted to him [Goraz] as one of the founders of San Fernando" (Leal Goraz, 1743).

On May 5, 1743, the Leal brothers received the property officially. They were to serve as trustees of the estate for their minor sister Efegenia Leal and until the debts of their father's estate were satisfied. On May 11 of the same year, José Leal appeared before the court again to petition for sole control of the estate on the grounds that his brother was unlawfully disposing of some of the property "and… making personal use of the remainder." The court granted his petition, and all of the property, including two one room stone houses, the land, and his father's right to a day of water, were transferred to José the same day (Leal Goraz, 1743).

No further record of the property appears until August of 1746, though subsequent records suggest that it was abandoned during the intervening years. In that month, Bernardo Leal appeared in at the court. He disclosed that his brother, José had been acting as administrator of their father's estate until the debts against it had been satisfied. Bernardo had been making payments against the debt since 1743 and had assumed legal responsibility to see that it was paid in full. As a result, he wanted the court to transfer control of all of the property to him so that it could be converted into cash for payment of the remaining debt. The court approved the petition, and his brother José agreed to transfer the property to Bernardo the same day. The property was re-inventoried at the time, and the tract fronting the plaza was included. The notary indicated that "of the two rock houses only two walls of one house were standing because Bernardo Leal demolished three walls of the other" (Leal Leal Goraz, 1743).

The same month, Bernardo applied for an updated appraisal of the estate claiming that while it was in the possession of his brother, it "had depreciated to such an extent as to be useless." In the reappraisal, the "demolished houses with their solar, 40 varas[1] square were valued at 50 pesos" (Water Division, 1959). Despite his intention to sell the property, Bernardo still owned it in August of 1748 when he appeared before the court again. He was seriously ill and wanted to "surrender said property" and responsibility for the remaining debt to his father's other heirs. The heirs were notified and ordered to appear before the court within twenty-four hours (Leal Leal Goraz, 1743).

After the notification, further conflict among the heirs ensued, particularly regarding the ownership of the houses and property on the plaza. José Leal claimed that his father had built and transferred ownership of the house to his late brother Vicente, and as a result, it was the property of Vicente's orphaned daughter Rosalia. Three witnesses (Ignacio Lorenso de Armas, Patricio Rodriguez, and Martin Lorenso de Armas) were brought forward to testify, none of whom could confirm or refute the claim. In the end, no compromise could be reached and the remaining heirs, including Efegenia Leal, Catarina Leal, Rosalia Leal, Bernado Leal, and José Leal, were to divide the property, including the real estate, equally amongst themselves (Leal Leal Goraz, 1743).

The exact location of Goraz Sr.'s two stone houses remains unclear. However, his inventory is relevant to the discussion of the political and economic relationships of those living on the south side of the Main Plaza. According to the documents, at the time of his death in 1743, Goraz Sr. lived with his son, Bernardo Leal. Bernardo (1717-1751) married Leonor Delgado (ca. 1726 – ca. 1788) sometime around 1742, she was the daughter of Lucas Delgado (unknown-1730) and Maria Melian (1696-unknown) (Gibson 2009a; Leal 1992). Leonor's father, Lucas Delgado, a tanner, died shortly after arriving in Veracruz in 1730, leaving his wife, Maria Melian, a widow (Leal 1992). Similarly, Juan Leal Goraz Sr.'s first wife, Lucia Hernandez (1685-1730) died in Quautitlan while on the journey from Veracruz to Bejar in 1730 (Leal 1992). After arriving in Bejar in 1733, Juan Leal Goraz Sr. married Lucas Delgado's widow, Maria Melian (Leal 1992). The alliance between the Leal and Delgado families is not restricted to these two marriages. Two other early

[1] 1 vara = 33 1/3 inches (Water Division, 1959).

examples of intermarriage between the two families include the 1730 marriage between Goraz Sr.'s daughter, Catharina Leal (ca. 1713-1794) and Lucas Delgado and Maria Melian's first son, Juan Delgado (1711-1745) as well as the 1750 union between Domingo Delgado (1728-1772) and Joséfa Leal (ca. 1730-unknown), Goraz Sr.'s granddaughter and José Leal's daughter (Leal 1992). These marriages seem significant in that three out of four of Lucas Delgado's children as well as his widowed wife married into the Leal family, early Béxar's most politically prestigious family. The alliance created between these two families would help to ensure their survival in Béxar's early history.

Despite Goraz Sr.'s well documented esteem within the community, his inventory indicates that political power did not necessarily translate to wealth in Béxar's early years. Juan Leal Goraz Sr., a farmer, died in debt with few possessions and a home in disrepair. Goraz Sr.'s economic situation, a condition common to most settlers in early Béxar, was a direct result of Béxar's remote location and sparse population (de la Teja 1988). According to his inventory, it appears that Goraz Sr. participated in a limited amount of trade. Among his possessions were: "4 varas of wide Brittany cloth; 9 ½ varas of black Seville silk suiting; 2 varas of sateen [sic]; 1 ½ varas Silesian linen; 7 ½ varas of medium weight tweed for overcoats; 17 butcher knives with horn handles; 7 strands of beads, six white and one blue (Leal Leal Goraz, 1743). Upon reviewing his father's inventory, Bernardo Leal proclaimed that the 9 ½ varas of black Sevillian silk suiting, 2 varas of sateen [sic], and half of the butcher knives were his property, suggesting that he, like his father, was also a small-scale merchant as well as a farmer (Leal Leal Goraz, 1743). In an isolated community where class-controlled resources and commerce were based on limited resources, it is not coincidental that the earliest merchants would also be the most politically salient figures. This analysis suggests the prominent role class played in Béxar, and highlights the motives behind intermarriage between the Leal and Delgado families, as well as intermarriage between the Canary Islander families in general. In a setting with few possibilities to acquire wealth, intermarrying within small circles, as in the case of the Leal and the Delgado families, could be seen as a strategy to consolidate and accrue wealth in a limited economy.

A New Frontier

The year 1763 marked the end of the Seven Years' War, as well as the end of the French threat to Spain's presence in the northern frontier. With France's transfer of Louisiana to Spain in 1763, Spain shifted priority to fortifying its settlements in Louisiana and California at the expense of the Spanish settlements in East Texas. As a result, the East Texas populations were moved to Béxar, and San Antonio served as the eastern extent of the northern frontier (de la Teja 1995). As a result of the declining mission system in the eighteenth century, the Villa de San Antonio de Béxar realized substantial population growth. By 1794, Mission San Antonio de Valero was secularized, and by the turn of the century, the remaining four missions were secularized and the surrounding lands distributed to the remaining Mission Indians and other individuals (Fox and Cox 1989).

The second half of the eighteenth century also witnessed the growth of the private ranching industry around Béxar. Once peace was accorded with the Apaches in 1750, private land owners began to seriously compete with the already existing mission ranching. Competition between private ranchers and the missions was exacerbated by the fact that most livestock in the area was unbranded and wild (mestenos). Turmoil ensued and tension grew between the private ranchers, the missions, and representatives of the Crown. While turmoil eventually quelled, tensions remained present due to a 1780s resolution that heavily favored private cattle ranchers. With the decline of the power of the missions and the ensuing increase in trade with Coahuila and the recently opened Louisiana, private cattle ranchers in Béxar were finally able to enjoy control of the local cattle trade (Jackson 1986). The eighteenth century rise of ranching in Béxar benefited the existing elite families both in terms of monetary wealth and vast amounts of real estate. Concomitantly, private ranching pushed the mission system to dissolution, which eliminated competition, bolstered the available labor market, and created greater separation between the existing classes.

By the early nineteenth century Spain transferred Louisiana back to France, which was immediately followed by the Louisiana Purchase, replacing a French threat with an American presence that was hungry for real estate. Furthermore, Spanish involvement in the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars resulted in an empire-wide economic crisis that ultimately strained the economies of the Spanish colonies and their relationship with the Crown. Finally, the 1808 French invasion of Spain that placed Napoleon's brother Joséph on the Spanish throne, fostered clear disfavor for royal authority within the colonies (Poyo et al 1996: 22). The tension towards the royal presence in Central Mexico fueled the eventual revolution led by Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla in 1810. The Casas Revolt in 1811, led by Juan Bautista de las Casas in Béxar, was directly influenced by Hidalgo's revolution that pitted the criollo, Indian, and mixed-blood populations against Spanish rule and called for an independent Mexico. This revolution reemerged during the Gutiérrez-Magee Expedition in 1813, only this time with heavy American intervention and with opportunistic motives. These three outbreaks and others like it throughout New Spain brought about the eventual independence of Mexico in 1821. Béxarenos played important roles in the development of an independent Mexico beginning with the expansion of the labor market in Béxar during the mid to late eighteenth century. The events of the second half of the eighteenth century and first quarter of the nineteenth century also expanded Béxar's political reach. With this political and economic expansion based on ideals of autonomy, Béxarenos would come to influence a broader regional identity of Tejanos.

Eighteenth century land records following Juan Leal Goraz's inventory and probate regarding the south side of the Main Plaza could not be located. However an excerpt from Frederick Chabot's, *With the Makers of San Antonio* (1937) reads: "During the revolutionary days several members of the Delgado family held properties on the south side of Main Plaza" (Chabot 1937: 80). Furthermore, John Ogden Leal, former Béxar County Archivist and descendant of Juan Leal Goraz, created a map in the twentieth century based on the memoirs of Antonio Menchaca, an early San Antonio resident. On this map, Leal indicated that the home of Clemente Delgado was located in the general vicinity of 41BX1753 in 1812 and 1813 (Leal, n.d.). While I could not locate a record of the transaction of the parcel to Clemente Delgado, it is likely that he inherited the property from his father. Clemente Delgado (1760-1833), the son of Jacinto Delgado (1733-1780) and Rita Travieso (1743-1761, daughter of Vicente Travieso and Maria Curbelo) was also the grandson of Juan Delgado and Catharina Leal (Gibson 2009a). Clemente, a third generation 'pure blooded' Canary Islander married Béxar native, Maria Gertrudes de la Trinidad Saucedo (1768-before 1841), daughter of José Saucedo (1742-after 1773) and Margarita Angulo (unknown-before 1773) (Gibson 2009a).

Clemente Delgado's father, Jacinto Delgado died in 1780, leaving as heirs, his second wife, Ramona de la Garza (1760-unknown), their two young daughters, Maria Gertrudes Delgado (1778-unknown) and Maria Antonia de la luz Delgado (1779-unknown), and his twenty year-old son, Clemente Delgado, the only child from his first marriage to Rita Travieso (deceased, 1761) (Gibson 2009a). It is unclear when Clemente Delgado married Maria Gertrudes de la Trinidad Saucedo, but the couple did not have their first child, José Ignacio Delgado (1783- unknown) until 1783 (Gibson 2009a). These data suggest the possibility that Clemente Delgado and his step mother, Ramona de la Garza were the sole adult heirs to Jacinto Delgado's estate upon his passing. The 1790 Béxar Census indicates that by 1790 Jacinto's second wife, Ramona de la Garza (30) had remarried Ygnacio de los Santos Coy, and Jacinto and Ramona's second daughter, Maria Antonia de la luz Delgado was not present in her mother's household (Leal 1979). A possible interpretation is that Clemente Delgado may have inherited the majority of his father's estate, possibly including the subject tract. The 1790 Béxar Census lists Clemente Delgado (31) as the head of his household, living with his wife, Maria Saucedo (18), and daughter, Maria (3), but there is very little indication as to where this household was located (Leal 1979).

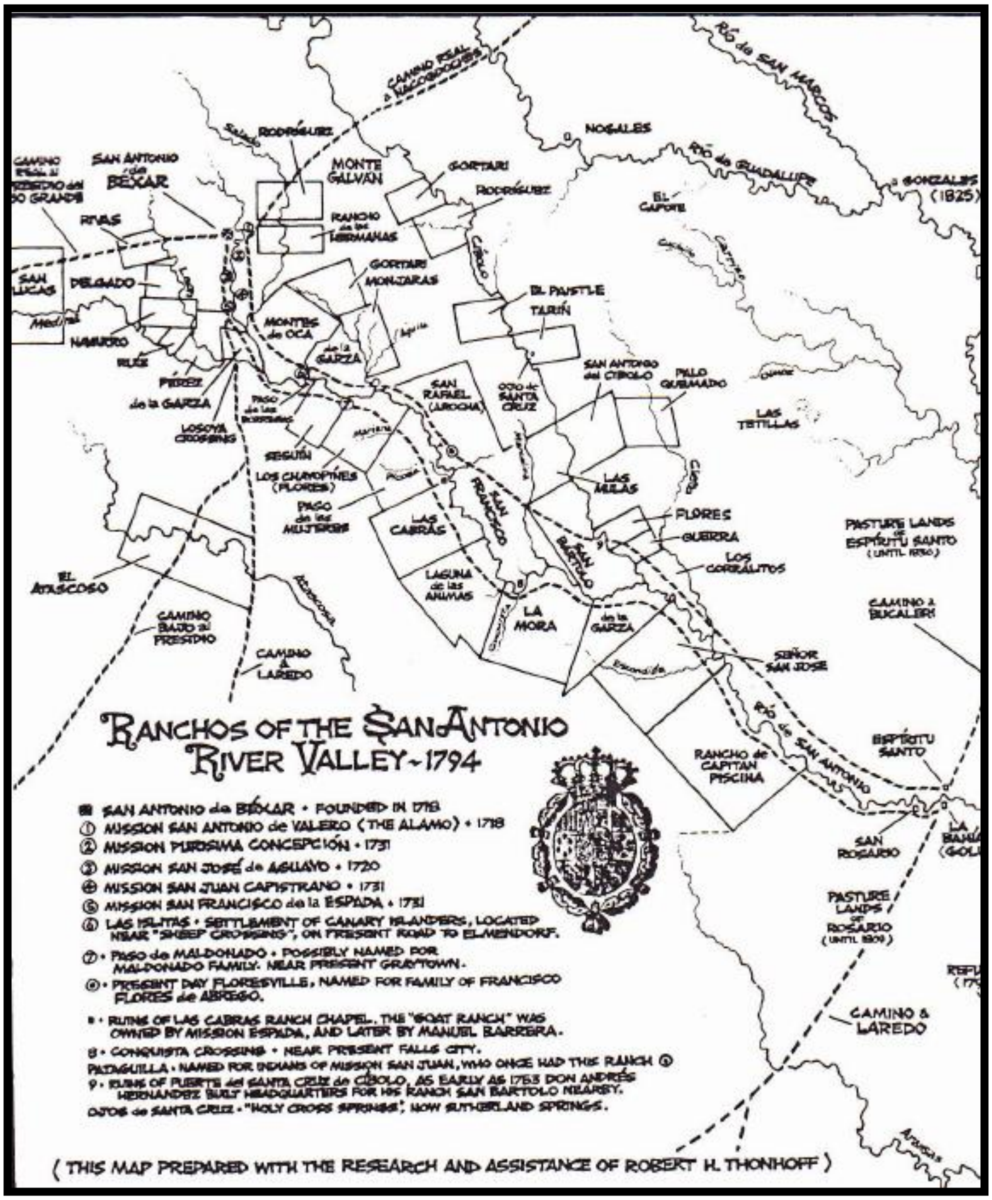


Figure 3: Ranchos of the San Antonio River Valley (1794) depicting Rancho de las Mulas (Jackson 1986: 92).

According to archival research, Jacinto Delgado, was involved in the ranching business possibly as early as 1758, when his father-in-law Vicente Travieso established the Rancho de Las Mulas, where "he was soon joined by members of his numerous clan" (

Figure 3; Jackson 1986: 93). Jacinto was clearly involved in ranching by 1777, when he and a group of other Béxar ranchers presented a petition to Baron de Ripperda that claimed title to a vast amount of cattle pasture that extended "from the sea to the sources of the Guadalupe" (Jackson 1986: 128). This petition challenged Mission Espiritu Santo's claims to the land in addition to claiming all the unbranded cattle located in the area as property of the Béxar Ranchers. The names that appear on the petition were not only "names that soon became integral to the cattle controversy," but were also the names that represented Béxar's elite families including names like, Delgado, Travieso, Menchaca, Flores, Leal, de Arocha, Sambrano, and Rodriguez (Jackson 1986: 129). We catch anther glimpse Jacinto Delgado's career as a cattleman in 1778, when he was issued an export license for 311 head of cattle (Jackson 1986: 165).

The archival record indicates that Clemente Delgado followed in his father's footsteps in Béxar's ranching business (Figure 4). Macario Sambrano's report regarding the cattle round up of 1782 lists Clemente Delgado as a participant associated with Rancho de Las Mulas (Jackson 1986: 245). Further evidence of Clemente Delgado's association with the ranching business occurs on a 1787 list of "restored ranchers" as was a part of a letter sent to Commandant General Ugarte by Governor Martínez Pacheco (Jackson 1986: 622). In a survey of total round up permits issued during the 1790s, the most frequent applications were made by "the Delgado, Arocha, Menchaca, and Guerra families, in that order" (Jackson 1986: 396). In addition, a 1793 "request for a report on bovine orejanos" around Béxar made by Governor Manuel Muñoz, included information submitted by Clemente Delgado since he, "regularly traversed the fields" (Jackson 1986: 397). Furthermore, Clemente Delgado appears on a 1795 list of "those legitimately engaged in the business of raising cattle" (Jackson 1986: 623). Increased government intervention in the private ranching industry (and most of Béxar's endeavors) throughout the second half of the eighteenth century created tension between royal authorities and colonists. This tension was strongest amongst Béxar's elite who dealt with restrictions imposed on both commerce and their control over local government. As referenced above, the first quarter of the nineteenth century would witness reactions to these tensions.

Figure 4: Clemente Delgado’s Brand (Jackson 1986: 656).

The subject tract does appear in the Béxar Archives collection entitled, “Rebel Properties” in the 1813 “Appraisement of Property Confiscated from Rebels.” This entry lists the property Spanish officials confiscated from Clemente Delgado as: “One stone house situated on the south side of the plaza. It consists of a living room and bedroom with 17.5 varas (48.5 feet) front, and 119 varas (330.2 feet) in depth” and was valued at 975 pesos (Delgado 1813). Having his house confiscated in 1813 and the subsequent deportation of his family in association with the families of Tomás and Francisco Arocha to Monterrey in 1814 indicates the way in which Clemente Delgado positioned himself during the events surrounding the Gutiérrez-Magee Expedition in 1813 (Delgado, 1814). The discussion of Clemente Delgado’s actions in 1813 becomes more significant when viewed in contrast to his actions during the 1811 Casas Revolt, and his political career leading up to these events.

Politically speaking, Clemente Delgado served as alderman on the town council in 1791 and again in 1800, and served as Alcade in 1812, a position his father held in 1768 (de la Teja 1988: 413). His appointment to Alcade in 1812 must have been influenced by his participation on the municipal council of the Casas Revolt counter-revolution Junta in 1811. As a member of this city council representing the Junta, he and a group of other elite citizens successfully led the counter-revolution against Hidalgo’s cause and Casas’ coup in Béxar. Clemente Delgado’s participation in this junta was substantial enough that he was appointed to the highest position on the municipal council in the following year. This suggests that Clemente’s actions during the Casas Revolt fully represented the council’s objectives, thereby making him a prime candidate to lead this council after the event. Similarly, Clemente's actions during the Gutiérrez-Magee Expedition were significant enough to have his possessions confiscated and his family ordered to leave Texas. While the confiscation of property was ubiquitous to all Béxarenos determined to be rebels following the events of 1813, only "families and individuals still considered dangerous or suspicious" were removed from Texas (Poyo, et al. 1996: 28). Clemente Delgado was eventually pardoned sometime prior to 1822 for his actions in 1813. However, Francisco Arocha, one of the individuals associated and deported with Clemente, was one of only four "rebels" who was never pardoned (Poyo et al 1996: 27).

There is no clear indication as to when Clemente Delgado was pardoned or when his family was allowed to return to San Antonio, but the records suggests that it was almost immediately after Mexico won its independence from Spain in the summer of 1821. While Clemente Delgado does not officially petition for the return of his house confiscated in 1813 until August 26, 1822, it appears that his wife, Maria Gertrudis Saucedo occupied the residence as early as December 11, 1821 (Benavides 1989). According to Clemente Delgado in the petition for the return of his home, his property was given illegally to a man named José Rojo (Roxo) upon confiscation by General Joaquin Arredondo for services Rojo provided to Arredondo. José Rojo then sold the property to Lt. Francisco Collantes, who occupied the property up until Maria Gertrudis Saucedo claimed ownership of it in December of 1821 (Delgado, 1822). This predictably infuriated Collantes who, in response to Maria Gertrudis Saucedo's claim, petitioned for the possession of the house seven times from December 11, 1821 to December 22, 1821, and twice more on January 16, 1822, this time from Monterrey (Benavides 1989). However, it was not until January 4, 1823 that Lt. Collantes was officially ordered to return the property to Clemente Delgado at Lt. Collantes' expense (Benavides 1989).

In 1813, Lt. Francisco Collantes (unknown-1825), a Spaniard from Castile, married Maria Gertrudis Leonor Salinas, (1796-unknown) a descendant of Leonor Delgado and Clemente Delgado's distant cousin (Gibson 2009a). The Salinas family occupation of the south side of the Main Plaza can be traced back to the late eighteenth century occupation of Manuel Salinas, Gertrudis' father, where Béxar Census data from 1797 and 1804 lists Clemente Delgado and Manuel Salinas consecutively, suggesting the two were neighbors (Fox and Cox et al 1989). An 1834 deed record also indicates that Gertrudis Leonor Salinas owned a tract adjacent to the tract where Clemente Delgado's home was located (Béxar County Deed Records 2:507). These records suggest that the Salinas family's occupation of the south side of the Main Plaza predated the confiscation of Clemente Delgado's home. As a result, Lt. Collantes' purchase of the property subsequent to Delgado's deportation was possibly a motive to further establish the Salinas family's presence on the southwest corner of the plaza, a presence that lasted until at least 1892 (Fox and Cox et al 1989).

Revolution on the Plaza

Upon achieving independence from Spain, Mexico outlined the principles of its new national government. In an attempt to procure political and economic autonomy, Béxar's representatives, now acting as Texas's representatives pushed their liberal agenda at the national Congress in Mexico City (Poyo et al 1996). In reality, however, Texas's small population and relatively poor economic condition did not warrant Texas the capabilities to constitute its own state, a fact Erasmo Seguin, Texas's representative in Mexico City, fully realized (de la Teja 1991). A compromise was met by pairing Texas with Coahuila and the Constitution of Coahuila and Texas was written in 1824. This constitution proposed a representational government that divided the newly formed state into three districts, and the District of Béxar would represent all of Texas (McKay 2008). This union between Texas and Coahuila severely crippled Texas's representation, a fact that enraged many Tejanos especially the traditionalists serving on the municipal council in Béxar. Furthermore, the constitution marginalized the Béxar's political system by de-centering the power traditionally held by the town council and the governor and placing it in the hands of state and national legislatures. As Béxar became integrated into a larger representative government, the isolation that Béxar had fostered into relative economic and political autonomy began to fade.

Economic expansion through Anglo colonization was commonly believed to be Texas's only hope of regaining political autonomy. An already developed personal and professional relationship existed between Erasmo Seguin and colonist Stephen F. Austin when Seguin went to Mexico City in 1824 (de la Teja 1991). This relationship certainly affected how Seguin envisioned Texas's future under the Constitution of Coahuila and Texas. In the intervening years, Stephen F. Austin gained considerable prominence in Texas, and as the Convention of 1833 developed, Austin looked toward San Antonio to provide support in his efforts to make Texas an independent nation. In the same year, centralist representative, General Antonio López de Santa Anna Pérez de Lebrón became the president of Mexico. In a reaction to Austin's actions, the following year Santa Anna dispatched an army under the command of General Martín Perfecto de Cos to address the mounting resistance in Texas. In this attempt to prevent dissention in Texas, General Cos chose San Antonio as his headquarters (Barker and Pohl 2008).

General Cos's control of San Antonio ended in December of 1835 when Ben Milam and his federalist troops of Texian and Tejano volunteers attacked the Mexican army on the Main Plaza during the Siege of Béxar (Poyo et al 1996). In February of 1836, Santa Anna and the Mexican Army arrived in San Antonio and went on to defeat the Texan troops at the Alamo weeks later in early March. Texas finally won its independence from Mexico when Texian forces defeated Santa Anna's army at the Battle of San Jacinto in April of 1836 (Barker and Pohl 2008).

The Republic of Texas inaugurated Sam Houston as its first president in 1836. Late in the same year, the Texas Congress set the boundaries of the republic, naming the Rio Grande as the southern boundary, even though Mexico refused to recognize Texas's independence. As a result, a state of war continued. In 1842, General Rafael Vasquez and 700 Mexican troops attempted a somewhat successful takeover of San Antonio with little resistance from an unprepared Texan force. Similarly, in the same year, General Adrián

Woll briefly captured San Antonio, but was met with formidable Texan resistance (Gunn 2008). During this invasion, Woll and his troops took possession of the Casas Reales, took the members of the court as hostages, and removed or destroyed many of the court's records (Santos 1978). Shortly thereafter, in 1844, a truce was called between Mexico and Texas.

Following the return of his property in 1823, Clemente Delgado began to reestablish his position as a prominent rancher in Béxar. In 1824 he was placed in charge of producing an accounting report for the Fondo de Mestenas (Mestenas Fund), and he received two sítios (8,895 acres) of land in 1829 that he petitioned for in 1828 (Benavides 1989). In 1833 he, José Gomez, and Antonio Salinas were appointed comisarios of the neighborhoods around the Alamo and La Villita, as well as neighborhoods in the north and south of town (Benavides 1989). Clemente died later that year. In the partition of his estate the following year (1834), his wife, Maria Gertrudis Saucedo received the title to the stone house that sat on a lot "fronting 17 1/2 varas (48.5 feet) north on the south side of the Plaza Principal, going back 130 varas (360.75 feet) to the street of the Lower Labor" (Delgado, 1834) The record also indicates that the house of Gertrudis Salinas was located on the parcel east of the Delgados, and that a jacal belonging to Dona Gertrudis Salinas sat to the west (Delgado, 1834; Fox et al 1989).

It is evident that Maria Gertrudis Saucedo died shortly after acquiring the tract in 1834, due to the appearance of the 1837 *Inventory, Appraisement, and Distribution of the Estates of Clemente Delgado and Maria Gertrudis Saucedo for the years 1832, 1833, and 1834* (Delgado, 1837). This document clarifies that Clemente Delgado and Maria Gertrudis Saucedo died "without having left a will," and records the appraisement and partition of their estate among their heirs (Delgado, 1837). The inventory lists numerous pieces of land, pieces of personal property, livestock, as well as collectable and owed debts. Among these possessions is the "one stone house situated on the Main Plaza of this city, on the south side; [bounded] on the South by the street which leads to the Lower Labor; on the East by the house owned by Gertrudis Salinas; on the North by the said plaza and on the

West by a jacal of the aforesaid Gertrudis Salinas" valued at 1000 pesos (Bexar Archives, Translation of Wills and Estates: 31). The inventory goes on to say that the stone house was furnished with a wooden bench with a back (4 pesos), six wooden chairs with leather seats (5 pesos, 4 reales), one wooden chest with its lid and key (3 pesos), one worn wooden table (1 peso, 4 reales), one small bench (1 peso), one common tin lantern (1 peso,2 reales), 1 iron bar (3 pesos), and a worn mattress (3 pesos), (Delgado, 1837). The 1837 partition of the Delgado estate indicates that Clemente's daughter, Encarnacion Delgado received 1000 pesos for the value of the house in addition to being reimbursed for the chest, six chairs, table, lantern, and a shawl (Delgado, 1837). Although Encarnacion Delgado was paid for the value of the property, the 1837 document does not indicate who gained the rights to the property after her mother's death. An 1841 document concerning the tract east of the subject tract (formerly belonging to Gertrudis Salinas, clarifies this omission when it refers to the neighboring house, once occupied by the Delgado family, as "the house of Antonio de la Garza" (Béxar County Probate Minutes C-Red: 73-76). It is unclear how Don Antonio de la Garza received this property, but according to an 1847 survey and 1849 plat map by François Giraud, the subject tract was clearly de la Garza's property. This record indicates that the "two story house of J.A. de la Garza" occupied the subject tract in 1847 (Figure 5; Giraud 1847: 16).

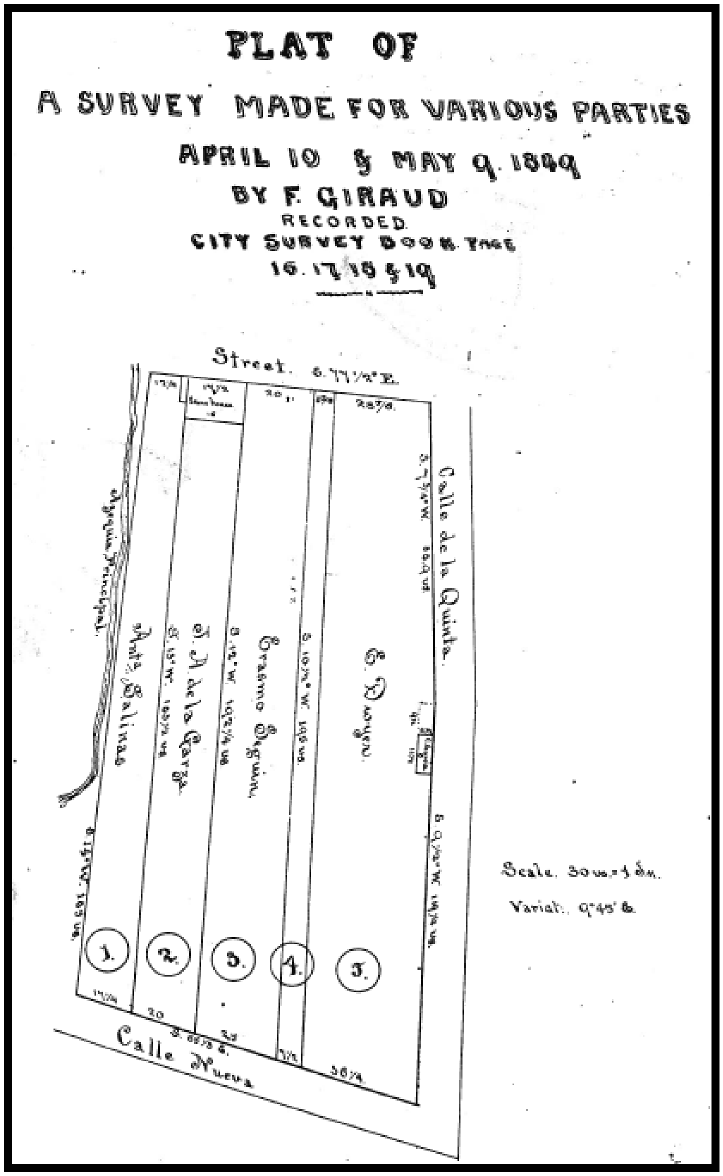


Figure 5: 1849 Giraud Survey Plat Map (Giraud 1847: 16)

José Antonio de la Garza (1776-1851) was the son of Béxar natives, Leonardo Hipolito de la Garza (1731-unknown) and Maria Magdalena Martinez (1735-1798), both of Spanish descent (Gibson 2009b). The de la Garza family is among the earliest known prominent families in Béxar, dating back to the initial settlement of the area in 1716 (Chabot 1931: 23). A 1782 opinion regarding ranching in Béxar, written by the asesor, Galindo Navarro, included the 1760 ranching "title documents" of both, Leonardo de la

Garza and his brother, Joaquin de la Garza, suggesting that the de la Garza family was among Béxar's earliest ranchers (Jackson 1986: 164). According to the memoirs of José María Rodriguez, an early San Antonio resident, the de la Garza family had lived in a home on the corner of Acequia Street and Veramendi Street for generations. Rodriguez states that "[Leonardo de la Garza] bought out the interests of his brothers and sisters to the residence in 1751 the year before he married Magdalena, and in his turn, José Antonio bought all the interest in the homestead of his brothers and sisters the year he was married to his second wife in 1824, or 73 years after the first purchase" (Rodriguez 1913: 45). Rodriguez goes on to say that Antonio de la Garza "was supposed to be the largest land owner of any one here," with major holdings between the San Antonio River and Leon Creek, the north part of the city, including all of Breckenridge Park and Alamo Heights, and all of Mission Espada (Rodriguez 1913: 45).

J.A. de la Garza's wealth is well represented throughout the archival record. He filed two petitions in 1818 for the return of his properties in both Béxar and La Bahia that were confiscated due to his rebel activities in 1813. In these requests he inventoried 8823.70 pesos and 1982.40 pesos of property confiscated from each estate (de la Garza, 1818a). This is in addition to six suertes (2400 square varas) already returned to him in 1813 following a self-organized testimony to prove his loyalty to the Crown (Chabot 1941: 143). Days after his 1818 petition, he received permission to coin 500 worth of copper jolas[2] to supply the city with income (de la Garza, 1818b). However, it appears, J.A. de la Garza's wealth was not always appreciated. His 1813 testimony for the return of his six suertes hinged on his assertion that Juan Manuel Sambrano confiscated de la Garza's property because Sambrano, "nourished hatred for de la Garza because he never would consent to sell to him his land" (Chabot 1941: 134). In a separate instance, the residents of Mission Espada twice protested his purchase of the mission because, as they asserted, "it was illegal" (Benavides 1989). These instances suggest that de la Garza's position within Béxar was not without its critics, and display how wealth was both envied and resented in

[2] Jola = copper coin worth ½ of a real

Béxar. Furthermore, the 1813 events show how these tenuous relationships had significant politico-economic effects.

"Flaco" (the skinny man), as J.A. de la Garza was apparently called, also had an extensive political career (Chabot 1941: 146). Like Clemente Delgado, J.A. de la Garza was on the municipal council of the counter revolution in 1811. He was elected first Alcalde twice, in 1813 and 1832, (his first term was cut short by the rebellion), and appointed second Alcade in both 1815 and 1819 (Benavides 1989). However, J.A. de la Garza was most politically active during the years of Mexico's independence. In 1825 he was appointed depositario of public funds for the Department of Texas; in 1827 he was appointed state tax collector for Béxar, La Bahia, San Felipe de Austin, and Nacogdoches; he replaced Ramon Musquíz in the office of political chief during Musquíz's extended illness in 1832, and was elected a judge in 1835 (Benavides 1989). In August 1832 he announced the Junta General's support of Santa Anna's Plan de Zavaleta and Manuel Gomez Pedrazza's election as president of Mexico, and was one of Béxar's officials to sign the articles resulting from the Convention of 1832 (Benavides 1989; Orozco 2010). Finally, according to one source, J.A. de la Garza was suspected of supporting the Centralist's cause during the Texas Revolution, a suspicion that may reflect the apparent resentment displayed towards de la Garza in 1813 and in 1818 (Orozco 2010).

J.A. de la Garza's personal life very much resembled his political and business careers. His first marriage was to fourteen year-old, Maria Joséfa Rivas (1799-1824) in 1813 (Gibson 2009b). She was the daughter of Captain Francisco Rivas and Maria Santos Coy, a family representing the union between Canary Island settlers and an old military family. His second marriage to Maria Joséfa Menchaca (between 1805 and 1809-unknown), daughter of Juan Menchaca and Margarita Chavez, occurred about six months after the death of his first wife 1824 (Gibson 2009b). Like his first marriage, his second wife's genealogy reads like a veritable who's who of Béxar's history. Between the two wives, J.A. de la Garza fathered at least sixteen children. Possibly because of his suspected support of the centralist cause during the Texas Revolution, José Antonio de la Garza and his family left San Antonio, and moved near Calaveras Lake in present day southeast Béxar County (Orozco 2010). It was at this location that he died in 1851 (Gibson 2009b)

Béxarenos and Tejanos faced difficult decisions and considerable challenges during the revolution era. Confronted with an in pouring of foreign settlers and a marginalized political presence, Béxarenos positioned themselves during the revolution era, as they had in the past, to protect themselves and local interests. With scars still visible from the events in 1813, it is no surprise that many in San Antonio avoided the revolution all together. Some chose to fight for Texas' autonomy by joining the federalist cause, while others recognized the power of Mexico's central government and conservatively positioned themselves to help with the centralist cause. This differentiation suggests the common theme that, Béxarenos acted in ways that sought to protect their local social hierarchies, which in turn, determined the structure of the area's economy. Clemente Delgado's actions, and especially José Antonio de la Garza's activities from 1811 to 1850 are suggestive of political choices made by Béxar's elite that were typically self-serving with underlying motives to protect their social positions, maintain their wealth, and to remain in control of the expanding labor market and available resources. Following independence and then statehood, the new generations of Béxarenos and Tejanos were confronted with new challenges as they became a minority in the area that traditionally defined their identity.

Capitalist Enterprise

Late in December of 1845, the United States Congress approved the Texas State Constitution and Texas was admitted as a state. Prior to statehood, San Antonio and the Texas frontier were dangerous places full of uncertainty. As a result of the continuous warfare and exile of Mexican sympathizers, San Antonio's population had dwindled down to about 800 citizens by 1846 (Fehrenbach 2008). Following Texas's statehood, San Antonio began to grow quickly. By 1850, the city's population had grown to 3,488 citizens, and it was quickly becoming one of Texas's largest cities (Fehrenbach 2008).

During this era, San Antonio became an essential part in the western expansion of the United States, and by 1860, San Antonio had become the largest city in Texas (Fehrenbach 2008). After the Civil War, San Antonio continued to prosper as a cattle, distribution, mercantile, and military center serving the Southwest. In 1877, the Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railroad arrived in the city, and sparked major growth in both business and population. The advent of rail travel resulted in a development that lasted throughout the 1880s, when major water supply, street paving, power plant, and other civic and county projects were established (Fehrenbach 2008). These projects included the construction of a new Béxar County Courthouse on the south side of the Main Plaza just east of the subject tract (Appendix A). Completed in 1896, the impressive structure represents the portion of the current Béxar County Courthouse fronting on the Main Plaza (Santos 1978).

J.A. de la Garza's 1851 probate awarded the subject tract (among other tracts) in undivided half interests to his sons, Joséph R. de la Garza and Leonardo de la Garza (Béxar County Probate Minutes D: 282-287). Three years later, the subject tract appears again in Joséph R. de la Garza's probate. The record reveals that Joséph R. (José Rafael) de la Garza (between 1830 and 1851-1864) died fighting for the Confederacy during the Battle of Mansfield near Shreveport, Louisiana on April 8, 1864 (Béxar County Probate Minutes No. 702; Gibson 2009b). In place of a formal will, his sisters, Elena de la Garza Yturri and Carolina A. De Witt provided testimony regarding J.R. de la Garza's last wishes and presented evidence in the form an 1863 letter the deceased had sent. In this letter J.R. de la Garza wrote: "Tell my mother not to worry herself about me, for whatever I have is for her" (Béxar County Probate Minutes No. 702). The court accepted the testimony and evidence, and in 1865, his mother, Joséfa Menchaca de la Garza was named the administratrix of her son's estate (Béxar County Probate Minutes No. 702). In J.R. de la Garza's probate is an inventory of all his property, which included the "one undivided half interest in a house and lot in San Antonio on the south side of main Plaza running back south to a new street (Nueva Street) near James France's residence, valued at $5000.00" (Béxar County Probate Minutes No. 702; Added Nueva Street for clarification). The description does not indicate if anyone was occupying the house when J.R. de la Garza died. However, the full value of the house, $10,000, suggests that the two-story home must have been impressive.

After receiving the house and lot in 1865, Joséfa Menchaca transferred this property (among other properties) in futuro to her son Leonardo de la Garza (Béxar County Deed Records U-1: 22-24). Leonardo de la Garza officially received this property, and many others including the historic de la Garza home on the corner of Veramendi Street and Acequia Street, on February 2, 1871 (Béxar County Deed Records W-2:13-14). By 1871, Leonardo de la Garza (1844-unknown) was a Williams College (Massachusetts) graduate married to Antonia Carolina Callaghan (1850-unknown), sister of Bryan Callaghan Jr., who was a San Antonio politician and mayor from 1885 to 1892, 1887 to 1889, and 1905 to 1912 (Doyle 2009; Orozco 2010). Leonardo used his inherited properties to thrust himself into the business world, so much so, that in the 1880 Béxar County Census he is listed as a Real Estate Agent. In fact, Leonardo de la Garza used the subject tract as collateral in a business deal with his brother-in-law, Bryan Callaghan on August 16, 1869, a date that predates Leonardo's full rights to the tract (Béxar County Deed Records T-3: 419-420). In this transaction, J.G. Hardin is listed as occupying the property, but a thorough Census search failed to locate any individual with this name (Béxar County Deed Records T-3: 419-420).

Figure 6: View of the south side of Main Plaza 1872, de la Garza house is the two story structure facing north (Lochbaum 1965).

Once Leonardo received full rights to the tract in February of 1871, he sold the south half of the lot to W.A. Bennett for “2500 gold dollars” in April of the same year (Béxar County Deed Records W-1: 566-567). Immediately following this transaction Leonardo and Bennett filed an agreement to allow Leonardo access to his north half of the property from Nueva Street via a twelve-foot strip of land along the west side of the property conveyed to Bennett (Appendix A) (Béxar County Deed Records W-1: 567-568). This transaction is significant because the use of this alley is reserved for “[Leonardo de la] Garza, his descendants (and his mother conditioned aforesaid) and his and their servants, and tenant,” suggesting that Leonardo and his family occupied the home in 1871 in addition to boarding tenants (Béxar County Deed Records W-1: 567-568).

Subsequent records suggest that the de la Garza’s may not have occupied the tract after 1871. However, the record does indicate that after 1871, boarding tenants in the house on the south side of the Main Plaza became a thriving business for Leonardo. In 1874, three years after selling the south half of the lot to Bennett, a transaction involving an adjacent tract refers to Leonardo's house as "the Hotel or tavern known as the Baker house" (Béxar County Deed Records X-2:277). Records indicate some ambiguity when referencing the name of this boarding house. Most legal transactions regarding the subject tract refer to the property as the Central Hotel, while other sources refer to the establishment as the St. Leonard Hotel or the Baker House or a combination of the three names (Béxar County Deed Records 10: 383; 10: 616-618; Reilly, n.d.; Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps 1885, 1888, and 1892; San Antonio Light 1910). According to a newspaper article published in 1910 entitled, *First Buildings in Ancient San Antonio on Main Plaza,* the St. Leonard Hotel was "one of the leading hotels of the city and many prominent persons, including Mexican and American generals of the highest rank stopped at the hostelry" (San Antonio Light 1910). Furthermore, the establishment is described in an undated pamphlet written by J.S. Reilly as "the most prominent of [its] kind in the city," and "one of the leading hotels in Southwest Texas," with a staff of fifteen, twenty-four "sleeping rooms," and the capability to entertain seventy-five patrons (Reilly n.d.). This undated text suggests that the St. Leonard Hotel was an expanding business with a third story addition in its future that would add "twenty-five more rooms to the present capacity" (Reilly n.d.).

The original name of the establishment, The Baker House, appears to come from the boarding house managers, J. A. and M.J. Baker, who may have managed the hotel from about 1874-1879. These names do not appear in the 1870 Census, but James (43, Ohio) and Mary (39, Massachusetts) Baker do appear in the 1880 Béxar County Census as husband and wife living together in San Antonio's 3rd Ward. However, the 1880 Census lists their professions as carpenter and house keeper respectively. This change in profession may be a result of the couple defaulting on a loan they obtained with Leonardo de la Garza in 1879, whereby the couple used all of their "personal property in use at the Central Hotel" as collateral (Béxar County Deed Records 10: 383). The record painstakingly notes all the "personal property" the couple used for collateral, which included all of the hotel's furniture, chandeliers, safes, dinnerware, bedclothes, even the single dining room bell (Béxar County Deed Records 10: 383). Furthermore, this inventory lists a number of items in quantities of twenty five, suggesting the third story addition referenced by Reilly had not occurred by 1879. I located no subsequent records between the Baker's and Leonardo de la Garza, suggesting the possibility that the couple defaulted on the loan, and were relieved of their duties.

Reilly's pamphlet, suggests that the St. Leonard was run by Phineas P. Lounsberry of New York and by Dr. L.A. Trexler, a "gentleman well and favorably known throughout Southwest Texas" (Reilly n.d.). Neither of these individuals appears in any Béxar County Census from 1860 through 1930. The 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map depicts the façade of the St. Leonard Hotel as already having three floors, suggesting that Reilly's wrote his pamphlet, and Mr. Lounsberry and Dr. Trexler ran the establishment, sometime after 1879 and before 1885.

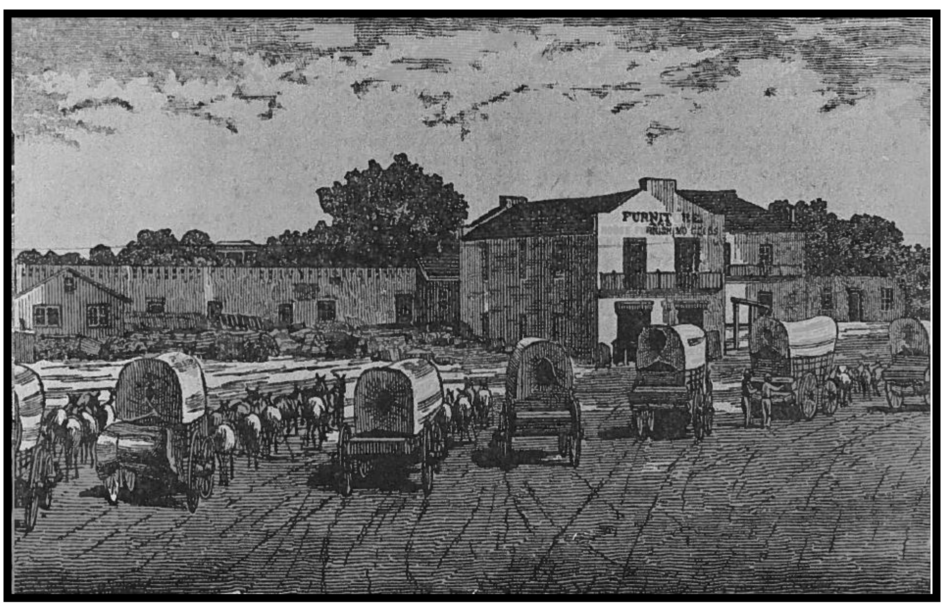


Figure 7: View of south side of the Main Plaza, ca. 1857 (Lochbaum 1965).

The subject tract does not appear in the record again until 1896, when Leonardo de la Garza conveys the tract to his wife, Carolina Callaghan de la Garza in exchange for "her separate property as heir of her deceased father, Bryan Callaghan" (Béxar County Deed

Records 130:20-21). The motive behind this transaction must be related to avoiding some kind of inheritance tax, because in addition to giving his wife the subject tract, he also pays her $50,000. Four years after this transaction in 1900, Carolina Callaghan de la Garza and her husband convey the tract to George W. Burkitt for $15,000 (Béxar County Deed Records 107: 209). This transaction ended nearly 170 years of ownership by individuals descended from original Béxar settlers.

George W. Burkitt (1847-1923), an Irish-born Texas politician and prominent citizen of Palestine apparently maintained the property from a distance. Anderson County Census data suggest that he remained in the county until at least 1920, when he is listed as a 71 year-old resident of Palestine. George Burkitt died three years later in 1923 (Béxar County Deed Records 773:314). According to the 1904 and 1911-1924 Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (Appendix A), the subject tract continued to be used as a boarding house to some capacity. The 1904 map (Appendix A) labels the ground floor as a carriage repository, and the second floor as "Elliot's Flat's (Rooms)." The 1911-1924 series Sanborn maps also depict rooms on the second floor, but the carriage repository was replaced by a grocery store. I located a single document regarding the residents of the subject tract during the time Burkitt owned the tract, a 1924 rental agreement for the Elliot's Flats apartments between a couple, H.F. and Rachel Gilley and the administrator of G.W. Burkitt's estate, D.S. Carnahan, lasting from April 1, 1924 through November 30, 1928 (Béxar County Deed Records 794: 204). The agreement was cut short when in December of 1924, George W. Burkitt Jr. conveyed the tract to Béxar County for the purpose of continuing Main Street from the Main Plaza through the subject tract to Nueva Street (Béxar County Deed Records 802: 50).

Figure 8: View of south side of the Main Plaza including the St. Leonard Hotel, 1886 (Lochbaum 1965).

While in recent years, Béxar County expanded in the adjacent area and the City of San Antonio closed Main Street on the Main Plaza, the portion of Main Street paved over the subject tract in the late 1920s remained intact until the spring of 2007 when Jerdon Construction peeled up the asphalt and exposed archaeological site 41BX1753. The five archaeological features that compose 41BX1753 are representative of the tract's history. Artifact analysis suggests that one of these features (Cistern feature) represents Clemente Delgado's domestic occupation of the site in the late 1700s through the 1840s. The other four privy features represent the parcel's use as a boarding establishment, where thousands of artifacts represent the establishment's many patrons.

Methodology

Phase I: Survey/Monitoring

As a part of the larger Main Plaza Renovation Project, the initial work performed at 41BX1753 followed a general methodology relying on monitoring all mechanical excavation associated with the implementation of the plaza's new stormwater drainage system. Months prior to beginning fieldwork, the project's manager, Eugene Foster, principal investigator, Nesta Anderson, Ph.D, and I consulted with Texas Historical Commission with San Antonio's City Historic Preservation Division (CHPD) archaeologist to create a project specific methodology. Together we crafted a methodology based on the project plans available at that time. From these plans, we devised survey methods that entailed a series of eight preemptive backhoe trenches laid out along the footprint of the proposed stormwater drain. The initial project plans depicted the proposed stormwater drain footprint beginning at the fallout location where Old Dolorosa Alley met the San Antonio River. From there the stormwater drain headed west on Old Dolorosa Alley to its intersection with Dwyer Avenue, where it split into two separate legs, one going north on Dwyer towards the Main Plaza, and the other running south along Dwyer Avenue towards Nueva Street. From this original layout, and taking known buried utilities into consideration, we decided to place the test trenches in pairs, with one pair per city block, beginning at the outfall area on Old Dolorosa Alley following the footprint north on Dwyer Avenue, across Market Street to South Soledad Street, and finally turning west onto Commerce Street (figure 2).

A minimum of two PBS&J archaeologists were to be on site to monitor the excavation of each trench, and mechanical excavation terminated when cultural deposits or caliche subsoils were encountered. Accordingly, the THC and the CHPD developed a protocol stating that if PBS&J archaeologists located a cultural deposit, the THC and CHPD would arrive on site to evaluate the deposit. Furthermore, THC and CHPD decided that any deposits encountered pre-dating 1865 would be significant enough to require further work and would require official clearance.

PBS&J's archaeologists reserved the right to write off a backhoe test trench location if the area was determined to have been previously disturbed, and monitoring during construction would suffice. Finally, PBS&J archaeologists would remain on site to monitor all excavation associated with the stormwater drain implementation regardless of location. As with the survey trenches, all deposits encountered during monitoring were subject to evaluation by the THC and CHPD, and intact pre-1865 deposits would require additional investigation and official clearance.

Subsequent changes to the stormwater drain plans included a new third segment of the system that extended west from the intersection of Old Dolorosa Alley and Dwyer Avenue in front of the Béxar County Courthouse to the east side of South Main Street. From this location, the third leg of the stormwater drainage system turned south along South Main Street and truncated just north of the Béxar County Courthouse maintenance garage. This portion of the stormwater drain was not subject to any preliminary trenching, and all excavation was to be monitored during construction.

Phase II: NRHP Testing

As referenced, all deposits encountered during survey or monitoring were subject to evaluation by the THC and the CHPD archaeologist. From these field evaluations, the THC and CHPD devised recommendations specific to the deposits encountered. In turn, we would create specific methodologies to reflect any recommendations made by the THC and CHPD.

Shortly after encountering Feature 1 of 41BX1753 while monitoring the third segment of the stormwater drain, representatives from the THC and CHPD arrived to evaluate the nature of the feature. Our limited field investigations and subsequent evaluations by the THC and CHPD determined that the feature contained diagnostic artifacts with a date range from the 1860s through the late nineteenth century. Upon encountering the feature, the backhoe exposed a clear vertical profile, Feature 1, revealing that the feature most likely represented a privy. Since the feature did not clearly pre-date

1865, the THC and CHPD recommended a methodology where Feature 1 would be fully excavated by hand, but not in formal units. Soils would not to be screened, but all artifacts should be collected by hand during excavation. It was recommended that the recovered artifacts should be culled in favor of diagnostic ceramics, complete glass bottles, and other specific objects such as buttons, and non-diagnostic and redundant materials were discarded in the field. After fully hand excavating Feature 1, clearance would be granted to continue mechanical excavation of the stormwater drain trench.

The backhoe encountered Feature 2 during mechanical excavation directly following the hand excavation of Feature 1. Upon inspection it was determined that Feature 2 represented a Spanish Colonial-age feature. At this point, recommendations were made that the remainder of the stormwater drain trench should be mechanically scraped in an attempt to locate any other features south of feature 2, and to facilitate the creation of a clear methodology to investigate the site.

PBS&J encountered three additional features during the mechanical scraping of the stormwater drain trench. Feature 3, to the south of Feature 2 was an east/west-oriented feature and appeared to date to the 1840s or 1850s. The next feature (Feature 4) was a north/south-oriented rectangular feature extending into the west wall of the storm-water drain trench. This feature appeared to have artifacts dating to the late nineteenth century. The southernmost feature (F5) was an amorphous soil stain that also included late nineteenth century artifacts.

After locating the additional features, the THC and CHPD recommended NRHP testing of all four features. In accordance with TAC Permit # 4297 fieldwork would include the manual excavation of a total of approximately four cubic meters (m^3) of cultural deposits. The southernmost features (F3, F4, and F5) would be explored by three 0.5 meter x 0.5 meter test units. All units would be excavated in arbitrary ten centimeter levels until terminating at subsoil. All soils were to be screened, 100% of the artifacts were collected, and profiles of each feature required documentation. If any of these features clearly displayed ages pre-dating 1865, additional data recovery would be considered.

Figure 9: View of 41BX1753 facing south with F2 in foreground.

After locating the additional features, the THC and CHPD recommended NRHP testing of all four features. In accordance with TAC Permit # 4297 fieldwork would include the manual excavation of a total of approximately four cubic meters (m^3) of cultural deposits. The southernmost features (F3, F4, and F5) would be explored by three 0.5 meter x 0.5 meter test units. All units would be excavated in arbitrary ten centimeter levels until terminating at subsoil. All soils were to be screened, 100% of the artifacts were collected, and profiles of each feature required documentation. If any of these features clearly displayed ages pre-dating 1865, additional data recovery would be considered.

Feature 2 required the excavation of a 1 meter vertical column of soil extending approximately 30 cm south from the previously exposed vertical profile. Furthermore, a 1 m x 1.1 m unit was placed in the deeper portion of this feature just north of the exposed vertical profile. Excavation of the 1 x 0.30 m column would terminate at the level where the backhoe had begun its deeper cut into the feature. The 1.0 x 1.1 m unit would be excavated until it terminated at subsoil. All soils were to be screened, 100% of the artifacts to be collected, and profile sketches were required. If Feature 2 displayed further research potential after testing concluded, additional data recovery would be considered.

Phase III: Data Recovery

Diagnostic ceramics and glass bottles indicated that F4 and F5 post-dated 1865, and no further work was recommended. Testing revealed that Feature 3 was a pre-1865 privy feature that required 100% recovery. Data recovery required an additional 0.50 m x 0.50 m unit placed east of the original test unit to excavate the east-west extent of the feature. The unit would be excavated in arbitrary ten centimeter levels, all soils were to be screened, 100% of the artifacts were collected and a profile sketch was required. Upon completion of the second 0.5 m by 0.5 m unit the remaining 1.0 m x 0.10 m southern column of the feature would be removed by hand excavation, but not in formal units, all soils were to be screened, and 100% of the artifacts were to be collected.

Testing revealed that Feature 2 was much deeper than expected, and after excavating approximately 270 centimeters below datum (cmbd), or 13 feet below the current ground surface, excavation was terminated due to safety concerns. Data recovery entailed placing a single shovel test in the southwest corner of the 1.0 m x 1.1 m unit to attempt to reach the bottom of the feature. Furthermore, the remaining southern portion of the feature would be removed by mechanical excavation, and all the soil taken off site and screened. All artifacts recovered from the off-site screening effort would be collected. After Feature 2 was fully removed, the remaining profile on the trench's west wall required 100% documentation.

Results

Site 41BX1753 consists of five buried pit features located beneath the asphalt along the east side of South Main Street, just west of the Béxar County Courthouse in downtown San Antonio, Texas. The site was originally located on August 8, 2007 when PBS&J archaeologist, Mike Smith located the north end of Feature 1 while monitoring the mechanical excavation associated with the Main Plaza stormwater drainage improvements. Directly after removing Feature 1, the backhoe bucket encountered Feature 2 less than 1 meter south of Feature 1. Days later, Mike Smith and I asked Jerdon Construction to mechanically scrape the remaining 20 meters of the stormwater drainage trench, where we located three other buried features. Due to the nature of the project, investigation of the site was limited to the area impact associated with the stormwater drainage trench, which measured approximately 20 meters north to south by 1.5 meters east to west.

Feature 1

Feature 1 most likely represents a privy feature dating from the mid to late nineteenth century. Upon initial discovery, mechanical excavation only revealed the vertical profile of the feature. This vertical profile indicated that preservation of the feature was incomplete; road surface and unrelated fill material comprised the 1.5 meters of material above the feature. Mike Smith was able to locate F1 due to the feature's darker soil matrix in contrast to the lighter, surrounding marl subsoil. The feature extended from the preserved upper extent down to a depth of 2.6 m below grade, ending in a relatively flat bottom cut into the natural limestone marls. Additional machine scraping of the upper horizontal surface revealed the feature to be rectangular, measuring approximately 1.15 m by 0.50 m and oriented roughly east-west (Figure 10).

Figure 10: View of F1 plan view facing north.

The upper soils within the feature were heavily mottled, consisting of clay loam mixed with limestone similar to that from the surrounding natural marl subsoil (Figure 11). Below and somewhat intermingled with this was a mottled darker (10YR 4/1, 3/3, and 3/2) clay loam. Charcoal smears were relatively ubiquitous throughout this soil, and the vast majority of the artifacts appeared within the lowest 0.5 m, at or 2.1 m below grade.

The artifact assemblage and horizontal provenience of the artifact assemblage are suggestive of the feature's previous use as a privy. Much of the artifact assemblage consisted of complete or nearly complete bottles, nearly complete ceramic vessels, small mammal and bird bones, and degraded ferrous materials amongst numerous glass and ceramic fragments. Furthermore, the majority of the artifacts appeared towards the bottom of the pit feature, suggesting that the artifacts were lying where they settled when discarded in the privy.

Figure11: View of F1 profile facing south, as encountered in backhoe trench.

A field analysis of the diagnostic artifacts recovered from F1 indicated that the feature had an approximate date range dating to the latter half of the nineteenth century. Because the vertical profile clearly revealed that Feature 1 was a privy feature, the Texas Historical Commission (THC) and the City of San Antonio (CoSA) archaeologist suggested that the feature should be fully excavated by hand but not in formal units. According to methodology agreed upon by the THC and the CoSA archaeologist we did not screen soils during this excavation, but artifacts were collected at the discretion of the archaeologists. The recovered artifacts were later culled in favor of diagnostic ceramics, complete glass bottles, and other specific objects such as buttons, while non-diagnostic and redundant materials were discarded in the field.

Diagnostic artifacts suggest a date range for Feature 1 from the 1840s to the 1880s. The total artifact assemblage before culling was relatively homogenous with numerous sherds of whiteware ceramics.

Feature 2

After Mike Smith and I completed hand excavating F1, we allowed the mechanical excavation of the stormwater drainage trench to continue moving south along South Main Street. Less than 1 m south of F1 the backhoe encountered F2. Due to the size of the excavator's bucket and scale of the excavation, the backhoe inadvertently removed a portion of F2. The impacted portion of F2 is estimated to be an area measuring 1.1 meters north to south by 1.3 meters east to west, and 0.75 meters below the approximate top of the feature, leaving an undisturbed southern portion of F2, measuring 0.40 meters (north to south) by 1.3 meters (east to west). However, the feature's vertical limits extended below the impacted depth. Furthermore, the project methodology limited all investigations to the stormwater drain footprint, and since F2 extended east into the stormwater drainage trench from the west, the feature's western extent remains unknown. According to the observed section of F2, it appears that the feature was roughly rectangular in shape. The total horizontal dimensions of the feature subject to investigation measured approximately 2.5 meters north to south and 1.3 meters east to west. Controlled excavation revealed a vertical dimension of F2 measuring 2.7 m below the estimated top of the feature, and approximately 4 meters below present grade. Due to safety concerns and project limitations, excavation was limited to a depth necessary for the stormwater drain, and the vertical limits of the feature were never determined.

The testing phase of F2 entailed the excavation of a single shovel test as well as a single test unit, Unit 3. Essentially, Unit 3 tested the southern portion of F2 undisturbed by mechanical excavation. We oriented Unit 3 along the edge of the undisturbed portion of Feature 2 and tested a 0.30 meter (north to south) column that spanned the width of the feature, measuring 1.0 meters east to west and a depth of 0.75 meters (Figure 12). Excavation of Unit 3 initially revealed a layer of a dark (10YR 3/2) clay loam, yielding to successive layers of charcoal and lighter soils (10YR 4/6, 4/2, and 5/2). These strata began relatively high at the eastern edge of the feature and slumped significantly to the west. Artifacts were fairly scarce, consisting primarily of small fragments of ceramics and bone. We excavated Unit 3 from the approximate top of F2 to the depth of impact resulting from the recently excavated stormwater drainage trench (a total depth of 0.75 meters, see above). From this point the THC and the CoSA archaeologist determined that investigation of F2 should proceed to data recovery, based on its highly preserved stratification and the apparent colonial-aged artifacts.

Figure12: View of F2/fully excavated Unit 3 facing southwest.

The data recovery effort targeted the northern portion of F2. This investigation consisted of opening Unit 5, a portion of Feature 2 measuring 1.1 meters (north to south) by 1.0 meter (east to west), and extending approximately 1.4 meters below where Unit 3 ended (Figure 13). At least five distinct strata were identified, ranging between 25 and 40 cm at their greatest vertical thickness, and all tapering up towards the east. From upper to lower, the first four were a 10YR 5.2 clay loam with abundant carbon inclusions, a 10YR 4/1 clay loam, a mottled 10YR 4/2 and 7/3 gravelly clay loam, and a 10YR 3/2 clay loam with frequent carbon inclusions. On the outside of and below these inner strata and along the eastern wall of the feature was a thick stratum of 10YR 6/2 clay loam. Throughout the feature, artifact density remained low and artifact types appear relatively consistent in age, dating from the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Figure 13: F2/fully excavated Unit 5 south wall profile.

Since the feature continued downward without stopping and the returns of excavating the 1+ m unit in 10 cm increments did not appear proportionate with the amount of effort required, a single 0.30 by 0.30 meter shovel test was placed in the southwestern corner of the unit near the feature's presumed center. An additional 65 cm through four successive layers of clay loam failed to find the feature's terminus. A 10YR 5/2 clay loam overlay to a 35 cm-thick layer of darker (10YR 3/2) clay loam; artifacts within the latter stratum included several fragments of ceramic, a single piece of bronze/brass, and numerous large bones and smaller bone pieces. Below this was an obvious color change to a 10YR 3/3 clay loam that became significantly mottled (10YR 3/3, 7/2, 3/1) with depth.

At this point the PBS&J archaeologists, in conjunction with the THC and the site safety inspector, terminated excavation due to structural safety concerns and the fact that the feature continue far below the project's depth of impact. The remaining soils in the southern portion of F2 (to the depth of impacts) were removed mechanically and screened off-site. All soils were screened and all artifacts collected. Due to its size, great depth, and artifact assemblage, F2 most likely represents a cistern or well dating from the late eighteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth century (Figure 14).

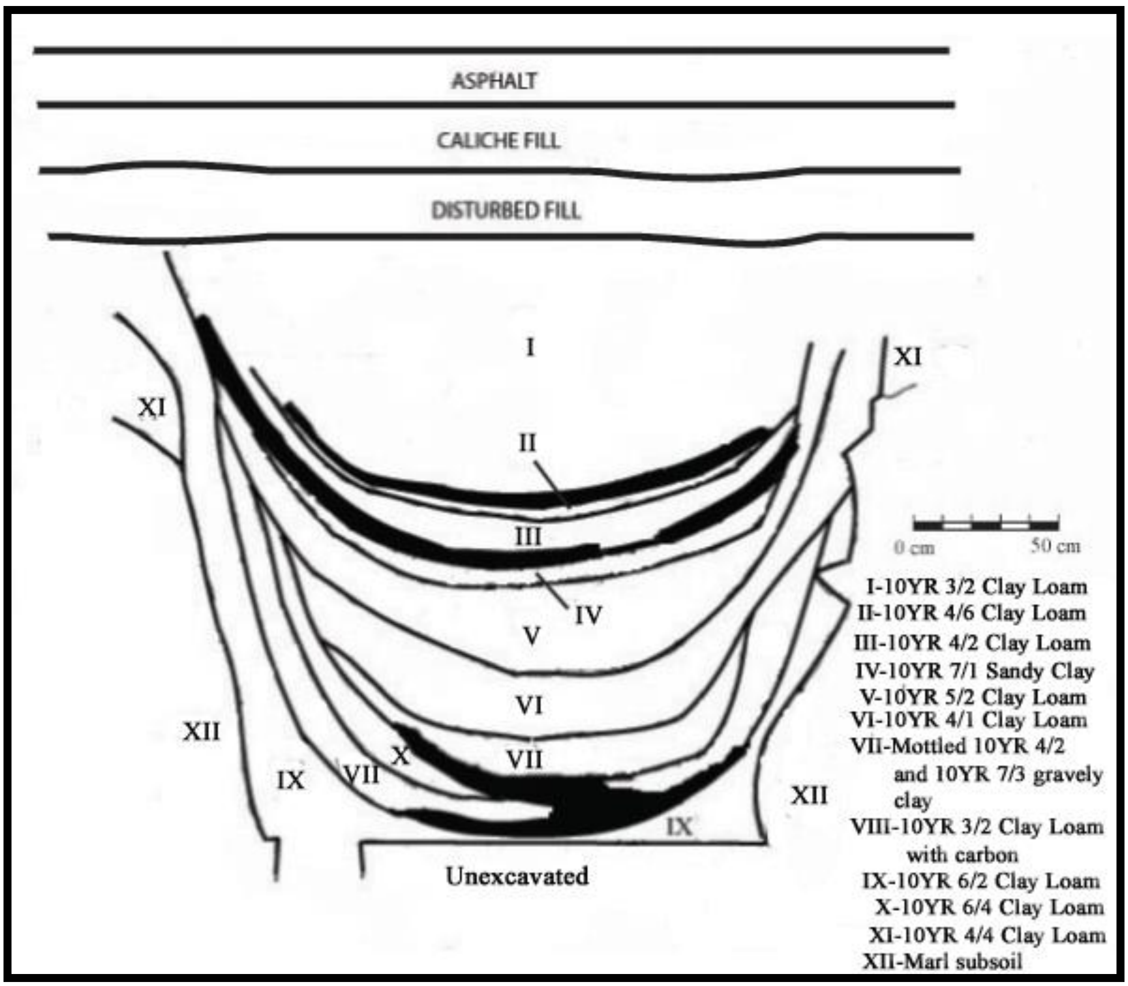


Figure 14: F2 west wall sketch profile.

Feature 3

Subsequent to locating F1 and F2 through monitoring, we determined that a shift in methodology would be beneficial. Instead of simply monitoring the excavation of the stormwater drain trench, we had the backhoe operator shallowly machine scrape the remainder of the proposed trench footprint (approximately 30 feet). This mechanical scrape (approximately 1.3 meters below present grade) revealed three additional features, Features 3-5.

Like F1, F3 likely represents the lower portion of the shaft of a nineteenth century privy. Archaeologists identified the feature during the machine scraping just south of F2 as a rectangular stain of darker soil within the surrounding natural, reddish-brown (10YR 4/4) B horizon soils. The feature is located 0.7 m south of F2, measures 1.0 meter (north to south) by 1.5 meters (east to west) at its widest extent, and is oriented roughly east-west (Figure 15). Because initial surface investigation appeared to indicate that the feature extended into both the western and eastern walls of the stormwater trench, it was originally interpreted as a section of an acequia branch. However, further investigation revealed that though the feature's easternmost limit had not yet been reached, its western terminus occurred about 0.2 m east of the excavated trench's western wall. Additionally, excavation revealed that the feature's western margin extended almost straight down to a flat bottom cut into the marl subsoil at approximately 2.5 m below the existing grade.

The initial testing investigation of F3 consisted of Unit 2, a single 0.5 meter by 0.5 meter unit located in the northwestern corner of the feature. This unit exposed the western edge of the feature and showed that its depth extended beyond the narrow confines of the unit. Excavated in arbitrary 10 cm levels, the unit was closed when the density of intact artifacts and the feature's wall prohibited further excavation (Figure 16). Soils consisted of relatively loose silty loams, mottled and varying widely in color with 10YR 3/1, 5/1, and 7/1 being the most prominent. Several large lime concretions were found throughout the feature. A dense scatter of glass bottles, fragmented ceramics, iron, bone, and other artifacts occupied the unit, with the majority of the heavier objects located within the lower levels. A single coin, an 1855 $1 "Indian Princess Head" gold piece, was also recovered during the screening of soils.

Figure 15: F3 plan view facing east.

Diagnostic artifacts indicated that the feature dated from the mid-nineteenth century. Due to the original methodology of the research design, the THC advised proceeding to data recovery. Data recovery entailed 100% removal and documentation of the feature and 100% collection of the artifacts. This phase took the form of Unit 6, a 0.5 meter (north to south) by 0.9 meter (east to west) unit placed immediately east of Unit 2 and terminating at the stormwater trench's eastern wall (Figure 17). Several large, irregular rocks (10-20 cm) were encountered mainly in the upper levels, as well as the same mottled soils, lime, and high density of artifacts as observed during the testing unit. This wider unit, however, allowed unimpeded excavation, and the marl subsoil was reached, displaying a relatively flat bottom.

Figure 16: Unit 2 plan view.

The completion of data recovery necessitated the removal of the southern remainder of the feature, approximately 0.15 meters north to south by 1.5 meters east to west. We removed this portion by hand as a whole, without the use of arbitrary levels. Due to time constraints, this soil was taken off-site to be screened and the artifacts collected.

Figure 17: F3/fully excavated Units 2 and 6 south wall profile.

Feature 4

The machine scraping south of F2 also revealed F4, a rectangular stain of 10YR 3/2 (very dark grayish brown) clay loam surrounded by the natural, reddish-brown (10YR 4/4) B horizon soils. The exact dimensions of the feature are unknown as the feature extended west outside of the stormwater drain trench. The observed portion of the feature was generally oriented northwest-southeast, and measured roughly 3.7 m along its eastern margin. At its northern and southern ends the feature extended 0.5 m and 0.9 m, respectively, from the trench wall (Figure 18). Excavation revealed that the feature extended into the marl subsoil ending at flat cut in the subsoil 0.50 m below the machine-excavated surface, roughly 2 m below present grade.

Figure 18: F4 plan view facing west.

We placed Unit 4 (0.5 meter by 0.5 meter) over an area located at the northern end of F4 where several historic artifacts were visible at the surface. Although the soil was predominantly 10YR 3/2 (very dark grayish brown) clay loam, the largest concentration of artifacts was located in the unit's southwestern corner within a depression of mottled (10YR 5/6, 8/3, and 7/3) soils with charcoal flecks (Figure 19).

Excavation revealed that F4 may represent the margins of a small garbage pit. Many of the artifacts were nearly complete, including a whiteware chamber pot and at least one olive glass wine bottle lying flat on the subsoil base of the pit. Diagnostic artifacts, including an Edward Clarke maker's mark present on two sherds of ironstone whiteware, and bottle glass embossed *MG Co.* (Modes Glass Company) suggest possible dates as late as 1905 and as early as 1865 (Lindsey 2009). However, the total artifact assemblage recovered at F4 is representative of the later quarter of the nineteenth century. No further testing occurred at F4 since it clearly post-dated 1865.

Figure 19: F4/fully excavated Unit 4 south wall profile

Feature 5

The final feature observed was located at the southern extent of the stormwater drain trench on South Main Street. Machine scraping revealed that F5, was a roughly rectangular stain of 10YR 3/2 clay loam very similar in form, depth, and contents to Feature 4 (Figure 19). F5, about 6 m to the south, also appears to have been oriented along roughly the same axis as F4. Although the eastern and northern margins were defined, the feature extended into the western and southern walls of the stormwater drainage trench, measuring 1.9 m northwest to southeast and 1 m and 1.2 m in width at its northern and southern ends, respectively. The lowest depth of F5, like that of F4, was approximately 2 m below modern grade.

At the northern extremity of the feature, F5 extended slightly farther to the north displaying an irregular boundary with the adjacent reddish-brown (10YR 4/4) B horizon soils resembling bucket-tooth marks (15-20 cm in width) possibly from earlier mechanical excavation of the feature itself. The soil along this irregular boundary shared color and consistency with the main body of the feature, only shallowing upwards from its bottom.

Unit 1, 0.5 x 0.5 m, was placed in the middle of the feature at the western edge of the stormwater drainage trench (Figure 20). Excavation revealed that the feature contained mottled 10YR 4/1, 4/3, and 2/1 clay loams with pockets of gravelly soil also present. The shallow unit bottomed out at a flat cut in the marl subsoil approximately 0.54 m from the top of the feature.

Figure 20: Left: F5 planview facing south; Right: Fully excavated Unit 1 west wall profile.

The artifact assemblage from F5 closely resembles the artifacts we collected from Feature 4. A glass bottle embossed with *MG Co.* (Modes Glass Company), identical to the one collected from F4, was present in F5, as was another embossed bottle that read *A. NETTE APOTHECARY SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS* (Lindsey 2009). Furthermore, an unprovenienced 1880 $10 U.S. "Liberty Head Eagle" gold coin was located near F5 during mechanical scraping, suggesting a similar date range as F4, and the possibility that the two features may represent small sections of a much larger midden or trash pit feature.

Artifact Analysis

In light of previous discussions on site formation (Schiffer 1987; Harris 1989; Wheeler 2000) the initial analysis of the artifact collection occurred during the field effort in an attempt to access probable date ranges for each deposit exposed during excavation. Temporally diagnostic artifacts, primarily ceramics, were used to test the features for stratigraphic integrity and to assist in determining the significance of each feature according to the previously discussed methodology. Once in the laboratory, the artifact collection was further analyzed according to an interpretive context provided by the numerous previous archaeological investigations performed throughout San Antonio in addition to multiple other sources. According to diagnostic artifacts observed in the field and identified during laboratory analysis, each feature represents a relatively short date range, making stratigraphic dating an ineffective method of diagnostic analysis. Instead, the artifact analysis suggests that each feature more aptly represents an era of occupation of the city lot. This chapter provides categorical descriptions of the numerous artifacts recovered from 41BX1753 according to feature.

Ceramics

41BX1753 yielded a variety of ceramics including a variety of Spanish Colonial and English earthernwares. The following paragraphs provide a general type description and date range for each type of ceramic recovered from the five features at 41BX1753. These type descriptions are based on a collaborative work done by Anne Fox and Kristi Ulrich as well on information located on the Florida Museum of Natural History's Digital Type Collection website (Florida Museum of Natural History 2010; Fox and Ulrich 2008). As a brief synopsis, prior to Spanish settlement in South Central Texas, several indigenous groups were producing ceramics. When this type of ceramics is encountered in prehistoric contexts, it is classified as Leon Plain Ware. Production of this same general type continued through the Spanish Colonial period, and generally it has come to be classified a "Goliad Ware" (Figueroa and Mauldin 2005). Goliad Wares are common within mission contexts and in early Spanish occupations in Béxar and Goliad, and in appearance, the two types, Goliad and Leon Plain, are virtually identical. Eighteenth Century residents of San Antonio primarily used Mexican-made ceramics that ranged from unglazed wares to more elaborate tin enameled wares that mimicked earlier European traditions. The Spanish Crown opened New Spain for trade with England in 1789, and by the 1820s English wares became very accessible on the northern frontier. Popularity of English wares continued to grow in the nineteenth century, and typically dominate the markets in Texas after the Civil War. Table 1 depicts the distribution of ceramic types according to the provenience feature.

Table 1: Ceramic Type Distribution by Feature

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
Annular Ware		32			
Coarse Earthen Ware		85	3		
Goliad		125			
Creamware		14	2		
Galera Polychrome		49			
Lead Glaze		120	1		
Majolica		163	7	1	
Pearlware		198	94		
Tonala		66			
White ware	85	15	243	29	16
Porcelain	15	1	47		
Stoneware	14	5	39		
Spanish olive jar		9	1		

Feature 1

Due to the collection methods associated with the excavation (see above), the F1 ceramic assemblage is primarily composed of the diagnostic artifacts representative of the total collection observed in the field during excavation. Accordingly, it became evident during excavation that the F1 ceramic assemblage was extremely homogenous in both type and style, suggestive of matched tableware sets. Upon closer inspection, it was revealed that the majority of the collection was composed of sherds of ironstone whiteware with a common theme of molded edgeware. While maker’s marks confirmed that some of these items complimented each other as a set, the numerous examples of English whiteware dishes with slightly different designs of molded edgeware produced by various companies may represent the replacement of broken dishes from a set with the closest design available at the time (Figure 21) Regardless of decoration, many of the forms recovered from F1 were similar to each other, where the collection consists of large plates, similarly sized bowls, large serving platters, and chamber pots. Ironstone whiteware sherds with diagnostic maker's marks within the F1 ceramic assemblage include a dish fragment with an impressed Staffordshire knot depicting *E. CHALLINOR & CO*. and bowls with a hand painted crest depicting a lion which reads *EDWARD CORN* (Figure 22) (Birk 2010). Edward Corn (1804-1891) founded a ceramics pottery in Burlsem, England (now Stoke-on-Trent) in 1837 and produced affordable earthenware ceramics with his maker's mark until about 1850 (Birk 2010). E. Challinor produced an array of earthenware with his maker's mark at the Fenton Potteries in Fenton, England from 1853 to 1862 (Birk 2010).

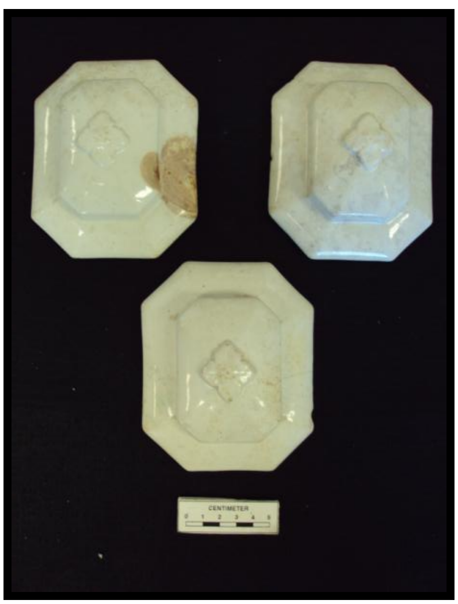


Figure 21: Examples of molded whiteware sets from F1.

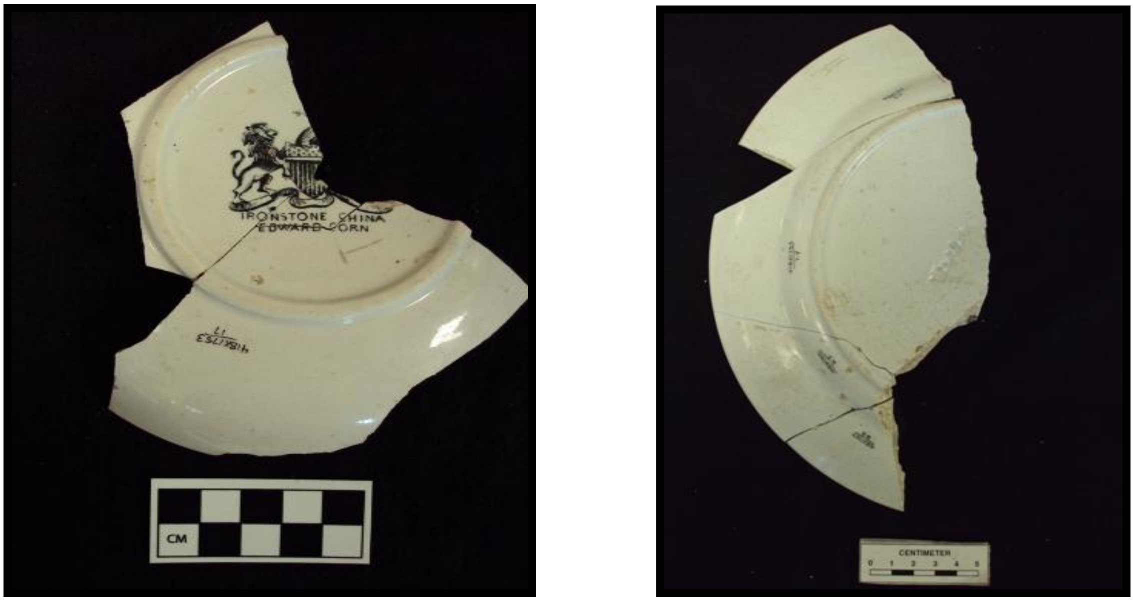


Figure 22: Right: Bowl base with Edward Corn maker's mark from F1; Left: Plate base with impressed with Staffordshire Knot reading *E. CHALLINOR & CO* from F1.

F1 also contained fifteen sherds of porcelain, twelve of which composed two molded and gold leaf decorated porcelain tea cups. One of the two tea cups has a printed maker's mark depicting an eagle with upraised wings on a branch and the letters *TPM*. Research suggests that TPM stood for 'Tielsch Porzellan-Manufaktur' and can be attributed to Carl Tielsch & Company from Altwasser, Poland, who only utilized the eagle on their maker's from 1847 to 1850 (Porcelain Marks and More 2010). The remaining porcelain artifacts recovered from F1 include the bottom half of a small porcelain bust (1336) and a handpainted porcelain figurine depicting a woman with a basket on her back (Figure 23).

Stoneware, an utilitarian ceramic composed of a dense white, tan, or gray paste was first produced in North America in the mid eighteenth century and continues to be produced today (Greer 1999). The fourteen sherds of stoneware from F1 essentially came from two vessels, a salt glazed crock and a basalt glazed teapot (Figure 24).

Figure 23: Left: Porcelain bust from F1; Right: Porcelain figurine from F1.

Figure 24: Stoneware crock from F1.

Feature 2

The F2 ceramic assemblage accounts for nearly sixty percent of the 41BX1753 ceramic collection with 882 artifacts displaying a wide array of types and styles of Spanish Colonial and English Ceramics. Diagnostic ceramic types suggest that F2 dates to the late 1700s and early 1800s, where the diverse and voluminous collection is representative of numerous vessels. However, the F2 collection is largely composed of very small pieces of ceramic that reveal very little about vessel forms.

Spanish Colonial ceramics recovered from F2 include a large amount of tin-enameled wares. Moorish in origin, tin-glazed wares have a long history of use in Spain and other regions in Europe. The technology was introduced to the New World in the earliest years of colonization, with production origins in Mexico City. Production centers spread throughout regions of Mexico during the colonial era, making Majolicas ubiquitous on colonial sites (Fox and Ulrich 2008). One hundred and sixty three sherds of majolica were recovered from F2, with a variety of types reflecting the numerous production centers in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Types and styles recovered from F2 include Puebla Blue on White/Huejotzingo Blue on White (n=32), San Elizario (n=5), Guanajuato Polychrome (n=7), Monterey Polychrome (n=11), Nopaltepec Polychrome (n=3), undecorated (n= 77), and other assorted or unidentified variations (Figure 25).

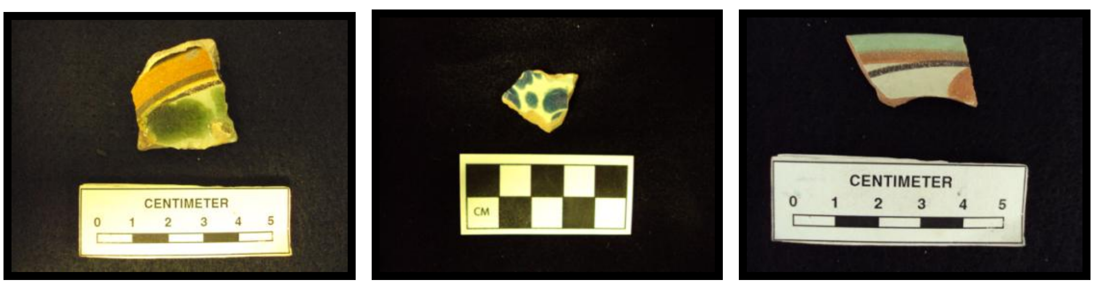


Figure 25: Examples of Majolica sherds recovered from F2, Left: Nopaltepec Polychrome Center: Puebla Blue on White; Right: Guanajuato Polychrome.

The F2 collection also includes 125 sherds of Leon Plain ware. As noted, this ceramic type has a long history of production in the area by indigenous groups before the Spanish arrived in South Central Texas. In colonial contexts, this ware has a tentative date range beginning in 1650 and terminating in the 1790s (Figueroa and Mauldin 2005: 53). The samples collected from F2 tend to be brownish to red with a diagnostic bone temper (Figure 26). Possible vessel forms include bowls or jars but, very few of the samples recovered at 41BX1753 displayed diagnostic form.

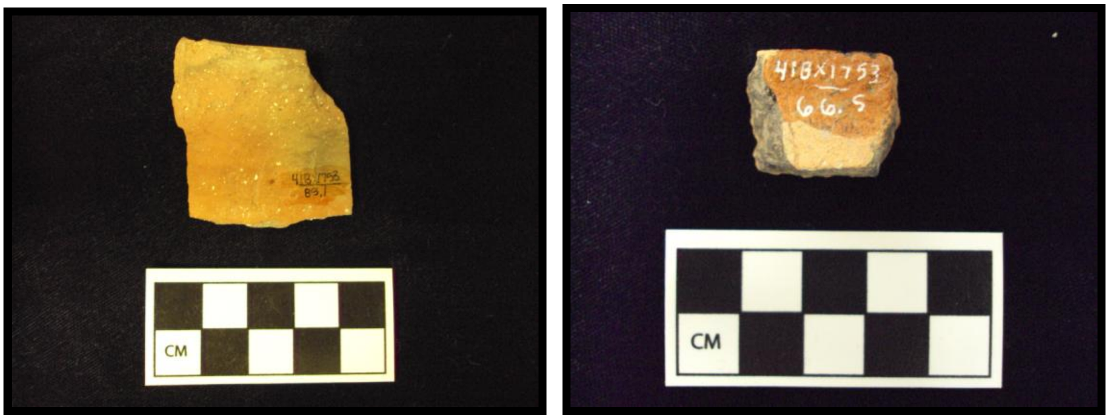


Figure 26: Examples of Leons Plain Ware sherds from F2.

Additionally, F2 contained 85 sherds of ceramics generally described as coarse earthenwares. These samples resembled Goliad wares and prehistoric ceramics indigenous to South Central Texas in many ways. These samples tend to have a dark gray to black paste without the bone temper that is diagnostic to Goliad and Leon Plains wares. The majority of the collection is undecorated except for two dark gray sherds with incised geometric designs on their interior (Figure 27).

Figure 27: Sherds of undecorated coarse earthenware with incised interior from F2.

Lead Glazed wares are another common Spanish Colonial ceramic recovered from F2, with 120 samples. Common throughout the eighteenth century, the F2 lead-glazed wares typically have a sandy orange-colored paste with a yellowish to pale green glaze. Six samples are decorated with green rim bands and one piece displays green splotches, with an additional seven samples with incised designs and one piece of molded edgeware. Vessel forms observed in the 41BX1753 collection include large and small bowls and jars (Figure 28).

Figure 28: Large bowl rim sherd of lead-glaze ware from F2.

Similar to the lead-glazed wares, F2 contained forty nine sherds of Galera Polychrome. This type dates from 1725 to the mid nineteenth century and was manufactured in Jalisco, Mexico (Fox and Ulrich 2008: 50). The Galera recovered from F2 is composed of a fine textured sandy paste with a clear lead glaze, mostly displaying diagnostic decorations of various designs painted in green, cream, or brown. The most recognized vessel forms are chocolateras (chocolate pots with constricted necks and bulbous bases), which became popular after 1750, when ceramic chocolateras replaced copper ones (Figure 29; Tomka and Fox 1998: 22).

Figure 29: Sherds of Galera Polychrome recovered from F2.

Sixty six sherds of Tonalà Burnished wares (17th century-1810) were recovered from F2 (Fox and Ulrich 2008: 60). This ceramic is a burnished ware with a fine, gray to tan paste and is commonly painted with red, black and yellow designs. Originally produced in Tonalà in the state of Jalisco, Mexico, all Tonalà Burnished ware recovered from F2 and displays a similar style and color of decoration (Figure 30). However, the red and black handpainted sherds recovered from F2 could not be pieced together, but forms appeared to consist of large plates or serving dishes.

Figure 30: Sherds of Tonalà recovered from F2.

Other Spanish Colonial ceramics recovered from F2 include Red Burnished wares (n=19), Valero wares (n=5), and sherds indentified as olive jars (n=9). Red Burnished wares are common in ceramic assemblages in San Antonio from sites with an approximate date range beginning around 1725 through 1800 (Fox and Ulrich 2008: 44). Most likely produced in Central Mexico, the F2 samples are highly polished, dark red, but undecorated wares. Valero is common throughout the eighteenth century up to about 1825 (Fox and Ulrich 2008: 40). This wheel-thrown ware is typically associated with water jugs produced in Central Mexico, but the F2 samples did not reveal form. Olive jars were common in Texas throughout the eighteenth century, where they were used to ship wine and olives to the New World (Fox and Ulrich 2008: 64). The F2 samples have a reddish paste with an olive colored lead glaze.

English ceramics make up a large portion of the F2 collection and the majority of the 41BX1753 collection in general. A revolution in the production of hard-fired cream-colored and white earthenwares in mid-eighteenth century England resulted in a market flooded with inexpensive ceramics from Staffordhire (Miller 1991). As a the industry changed over time production processes were refined and styles altered to create a diverse assemblage of diagnostic ceramic types (Hume 1969a; Miller 1980). Generally speaking, the evolution of white earthenware began with the introduction of creamware in 1759, transitioning to pearlware (1785-1840) and resulting in ironstone whiteware (1830-present), commonly referred to as simply 'whiteware' (Hume 1969a). F2 displayed a diverse collection of English whitewares with fourteen sherds of creamware, 198 sherds of pearlware, fifteen sherds of ironstone whiteware, and thirty two sherds of annular ware. Creamwares (1760's-1820) represent the earliest English white earthernware recovered at the site. Only one creamware sherd from F2 was positively identified as decorated edgeware, while the remaining sherds are undecorated.

Edgeware, a popular English import during the second half of the eighteenth century became the "cheapest decorated tableware" of the nineteenth century (Figure 31; Hume 1969a: 116; Miller 1991: 6). This trend is most recognizable among the F2 collection of pearlware, where 19 pearlware rim sherds from F2 display edgeware characteristics (Figure 31). Other pearlware variations encountered in F2 include seventy-three handpainted sherds displaying various motifs and dating approximately to 1770-1840 (Figure 31; Florida Museum of Natural History 2010). Transfer print sherds, another pearlware design motif well represented in the 41BX1753 collection were recovered from F2 (n=36) and date to 1784-1840 (Florida Museum of Natural History 2010). Forms identified from the F2 collection include plates, bowls, and saucers.

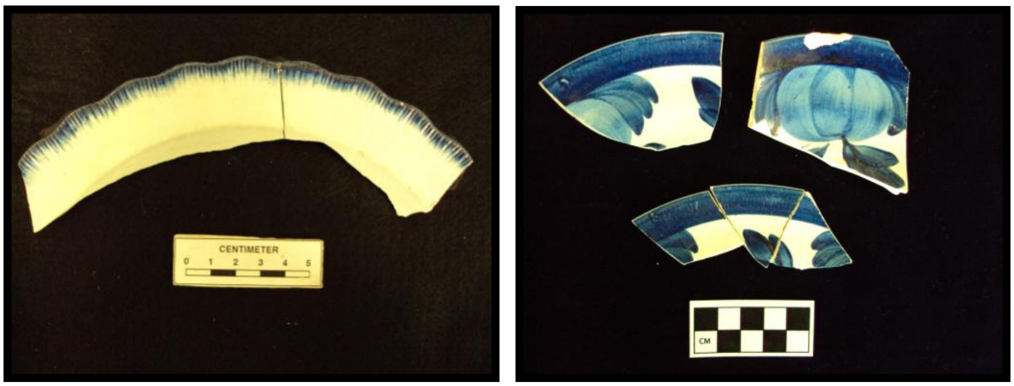


Figure 31: Left: Pearlware feather-edged plate rim sherds recovered from F2; Right: Handpainted pearlware bowl rim sherds recovered from F2.

Annular wares (n=32), another popular form of English white earthenware recovered from F2 were found to have numerous design motifs including mocha, banding, marbling, and cabling (Figure 32). All of the annular ware sherds recovered from F2 are slipware-decorated variations of pearlware dating to 1785-1840 (Florida Museum of Natural History 2010).

Of the fifteen sherds of whiteware (1830-present) recovered from F2, only six display decoration (Florida Museum of Natural History 2010). Four of the decorated sherds are transfer printed and two are handpainted, but none of the whiteware recovered from F2 display any diagnostic maker's marks or registration stamps. The appearance of whiteware in F2 suggests that the feature may have still been in use until the 1830s. Due to the relatively small sample recovered, it appears that F2 may have been abandoned shortly after whiteware appeared on the market.

Figure 32: Annular ware mug recovered from F2.

Feature 3

Like the F2 assemblage, the F3 ceramic collection contains both Spanish Colonial and ceramics produced in England. However, the Spanish Colonial variations make up the minority of the F3 collection with only seven sherds of majolica, 3 sherds of coarse earthenware, and one sample of lead-glazed ware.

English ceramics represent the overwhelming majority of the ceramics recovered from F3, where variations of white earthenware of English origin account for over 70% of all ceramic types recovered from the five features (n=317). The F3 assemblage includes two sherds of creamware, ninety four sherds of pearlware, and 243 sherds of ironstone whiteware. While both sherds of creamware from F3 are undecorated, twenty six of the F3 pearlware samples were a variation of a molded edgeware. Eighteen of these molded samples represent up to ten plates with the same acorn and leaf motif. An additional thirty eight of the F3 pearlware samples compose a single black and white tureen displaying an “Oriental” style design (Hume 1969a: 130).

The largest whiteware assemblage recovered from 41BX1753 came from F3. Twenty seven percent (n=66) of the F3 whiteware collection displayed some kind of decoration, and similar to the F2 pearlware collection and to the F1 whiteware collection, molded edgeware (n=30) represented the most commonly used decoration (Figure 33). Like the F1 whiteware and F3 pearlware collections, the F3 whiteware collection contains slight variants of similar molded whiteware themes including the acorn and leaf motif discussed above as well as, grape and vine designs, scalloped edged variations, and floral patterns. The general collection of whiteware recovered from F3 suggests dinnerware sets, with identical forms and matching maker’s marks (Figure 33). Like F1, numerous fragments of chamber pots made of whiteware were also recovered from F3. Numerous whiteware samples recovered from F3 displayed maker’s marks including a stamped *John Ridgway & Co* emblem who was in business from 1841-1855 (Birk 2010). This sherd also displays a diagnostic registration stamp dating to 1848. Another sherd with an impressed J. Wedgewood makers mark also has a registration stamp that dates to November 9, 1856 (Figure 33).

Forty seven sherds of porcelain were recovered from F3, the majority of which are undecorated English Bone China (n=26) with a date range from 1830 to 1900 (Hughes and Hughes 1960: 67). Decoration motifs within the F3 porcelain collection includes four sherds with etched gold leaves, three molded edgeware sherds, and one handpainted sherd. The F3 collection also contained a single porcelain doll arm and the remains of a figurine possibly depicting a clown wearing a dagger in his belt.

Figure 33: Whiteware recovered from F3: Top Left: Molded edge whiteware plate; Top Right: Matching whiteware plates with identical maker's marks; Bottom Left: Base of whiteware plate with a John Ridgeway maker's mark (1841-1855) and registration stamp dating to September 30, 1848; Bottom Right: Base of whiteware plate with a J. Wedgewood maker's mark (unknown) and registration stamp dating to November 9, 1856.

Additionally, the F3 collection contains thirty nine sherds of stoneware, thirty seven of which join to compose at least two black basalt glazed teapots similar to the one located in F1. Finally, F3 contained the remains of a full sized urinal composed of yellow ware (n=21). Yellow ware is a ceramic composed of a very hard, buff colored paste with a transparent lead glaze that makes the ceramic appear yellow and dates from 1840 to present (Florida Museum of Natural History 2010).

Feature 4

The F4 whiteware collection is composed of twenty nine sherds of whiteware and a single sherd of San Elizario style majolica. Primarily composed of undecorated dinnerwares with forms suggesting similarly sized plates, bowls, and saucers, the three decorated sherds from F4 appear to be molded jars or pitchers. A Bridgewood & Clarke or Edward Clarke "Royal Arms" maker's mark on the base of a broken plate recovered from F4 dates to about 1857-1887, and can be attributed to potteries at the Phoenix Works in Tunstall, England or the Churchyard Works in Burslem, England (Figure 34; Birk 2010). A near complete chamber pot composed of whiteware was also recovered from F4.

Figure 34: Base of whiteware plate with Bridgewood & Clarke or Edward Clarke maker's mark recovered from F4.

Feature 5

All ceramics recovered from F5 were undecorated sherds of whiteware representing various domestic wares including plates, bowls, and cups. Like the F4 collection, one plate recovered from F5 revealed a Bridgewood & Clarke or Edward Clarke "Royal Arms" maker’s mark (1857-1877) along with an impressed registration stamp from 1873 (Figure 35; Birk 2010).

Figure 35: Base of whiteware plate with Bridgewood & Clarke or Edward Clarke maker’s mark recovered from F5.

Glass

Glass artifacts make up a large portion of the 41BX1753 collection, amassing 2,386 provenienced artifacts. Like most historic sites, the majority of glass recovered from 41BX1753 comes from bottles. These bottles can be datable based on the diverse technologies and typologies that changed from the early colonial period through the present. In general, the evolution of bottle making in North America made a slow transition from “manual craftsman production to industrialization and automation” where the beverage and pharmaceutical industries dominated glass production (Lindsey 2010). Treating glass bottles as diagnostic artifacts can be useful, but the utilitarian nature of bottles suggests reuse, indicating a broader date range than the production dates assume. The following discussion looks at the glass collections by feature, a distribution glass artifacts by feature is provided in table 2

Table 2: Types of Glass Artifacts by Feature

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
Beverage Bottles	18	42	257	5	4
Pharmaceutical Bottles	25	8	34	2	3
Condiment Bottles	4		10	1	
Kitchen Uses	4	3	38	5	7
Household Uses	8	1	171		
Architectural		3	125	14	1
Unidentifiable	39	62	1342	74	75
Total	98	119	1977	101	92

Feature 1

According to the F1 excavation and artifact collection methodologies, the F1 glass artifact collection is comprised of 98 specimen representative of the feature's larger collection as observed in the field, and includes a number of complete or near complete diagnostic vessels. This collection includes thirty two bottles with medicinal uses. These aqua (n=25) and clear (n=7) glass bottles were either hand blown (n=20), seamless "dip" or "turn" molded (n=5), or had visible seams (n=7), with tooled lips. One of the seamless bottles and one with seams were embossed with diagnostic labels. The seamless bottle has four panels that read *LYONS; KATHAIRON; NEW YORK*; 'FOR THE HAIR', and can be attributed to a product made mostly of alcohol and castor oil and produced by Emanuel Thomas Lyon from 1850 until 1896 (Figure 36; Fadely 2010). The embossed medicine bottle with seams reads *PHALON & SON PERFUMERS NEW YORK*, representing a hair care product produced by Edward Phalon from 1840 to 1885 (Fadely 2010). The F1 collection also included eighteen various beverage bottles including wine, beer, cognac and other unidentified bottles composed of aqua glass (n=6), olive glass (n=5), clear glass (n=4), and brown glass (n=1). Another interesting trend within the F1 glass collection includes a series of seven nearly identical umbrella style ink bottles made of aqua glass (figure 37). Other glass artifacts recovered from F1 include three tumbler style glasses, a wine glass, and what appears to be a piece of a glass chandelier.

Figure 36: Emanuel Thomas Lyon's haircare product clear glass bottle from F1: Left: '*FOR THE HAIR'*; Right: *NEW YORK*

Figure 37: 'Umbrella' style ink wells recovered from F1.

Feature 2

The majority of the F2 glass collection is composed of the remnants of beverage (n=42) and medicinal bottles (n=8) as well as a large collection of small and unidentifiable sherds of glass (n=62). Unlike the F1 collection, the F2 glass collection shows very little variation. All forty two artifacts identified as beverage bottle glass are composed of thick, hand-blown olive glass with bubble inclusions (figure 38), and all eight medicinal bottles are made of aqua glass. The F2 collection also displays very little diagnostic data, with the exception of the high occurrence of free-blown olive glass. Free-blown olive glass bottles were predominately produced before 1840, and are typical of other Spanish Colonial sites in San Antonio (Labadie 1986; Lindsey 2010).

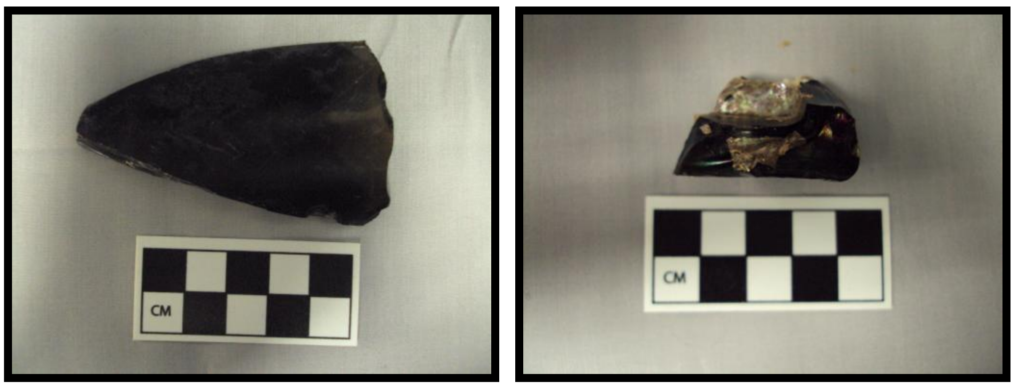


Figure 38: Olive glass recovered from F2.

Feature 3

The F3 glass collection represents over 80% of all glass artifacts collected from 41BX1753. Many of the samples are too small to identify vessel form or size, but the collection does include numerous near complete vessels and plenty of samples featuring diagnostic features. Again, beverage bottles represent the most common vessel observed, with a count totaling 257 items. However, this is a conservative count, because an additional 576 olive glass sherds, 524 clear glass sherds, and twenty five brown glass samples most likely represent pieces of broken beverage bottles, but lack attributes to verify vessel form. Taking these data into account, beverage bottle remnants may make up nearly 70% of all glass artifacts recovered from F3. Diagnostic beverage bottles recovered from F3 include an embossed “Saratoga” style mineral water vessel that reads: ‘CLARKE & WHITE NEW YORK’. This vessel dates to 1856 through 1866, but may be earlier considering John Clarke was producing bottled mineral water in New York as early as 1823 (Lindsey 2010). Another diagnostic bottle from the F3 collection is a tall, brown short necked square bottle embossed with the word *SCHIEDAM* on one side and *AROMATIC SCHNAPPS* on the other (Figure 39). A popular style of bottle for "medicated gin" produced throughout the nineteenth century, this F3 specimen has a pontil scar that dates it to sometime between 1840 and 1865 (Lindsey 2010). The F3 collection also features a portion of an amber colored flask with an eagle and the word 'PITTSBURG' embossed across the front (Figure 40). The design and origin of this flask suggests that it may be attributed to William Ihmsen's glass company and should date between 1820 to 1840, but may be as late as 1865 (Lockhart 2004: 3-4). Finally, F3 contained numerous olive glass "Bordeaux" style wine bottles, which became popular in North America after 1840 (Figure 40; Lindsey 2010).

Figure 39: Square *SCHIEDAM AROMATIC SCHNAPPS* bottle from F3.


Figure 40: F3 beverage bottles, Left: Amber-colored flask reading *PITTSBURG;* Right: “Bordeaux” style wine bottles.

Approximately thirty four specimens from F3 were identified as medicine bottles. However, like the beverage bottles, smaller fragments of aqua, amethyst, blue, and clear glass sherds may account for another ninety one pieces representing parts of medicine bottles. However, numerous complete pharmaceutical bottles were recovered from F3 displaying a wide variety of shapes, sizes, and diagnostic features. One bottle of interest includes an embossed “extract” style medicine bottle that reads: *F. BROWN’S ESS OF JAMAICA GINGER PHILAD* (Figure 41). A patented medicine, Jamaican Ginger extract was commonly around 75-90% alcohol and used to cure stomach ailments (Munsey 2005). Frederick Brown appears in the 1846 Philadelphia city directory as a druggist, and the 1862 city directory contains an advertisement for Brown’s Essence of Jamaica Ginger. The bottle recovered from F3 appears to have a pontil mark on the bottom suggesting that this bottle dates to the mid nineteenth century (Lindsey 2010). Like F1, F3 contained the remains of a New York produced hair care product. This complete bottle is embossed around the shoulders and reads *S.CHEVALIER’S LIFE FOR THE HAIR* (Figure 41). The bottle can be attributed to Sarah A. Chevalier, a New York City physician that began producing the hair tonic as early as 1860 to “restore the hair” (Fadely 2010).

Figure 41: F3 pharmaceutical bottles: Left: *F. BROWN'S ESS OF JAMAICA GINGER PHILAD* patented medicine bottle; Right: *S.CHEVALIER'S LIFE FOR THE HAIR* hair tonic bottle.

One hundred and seventy one glass artifacts associated with household uses were recovered from F3, most of which appeared to be thinned walled, clear lantern glass. Artifacts with "kitchen" uses made of glass and recovered from F3 include the remnants of three identical juice glasses, two identical sherry glasses, a clear glass wine goblet, and three or four similar clear glass lamps among other household items (Figure 42). Furthermore, the F3 collection also includes 125 sherds of flat clear glass identified as window glass.

Figure 42: Glassware recovered from F3: Left: Juice glasses; Right: Sherry glasses.

Feature 4

Like the F2 and F3 collections, the F4 glass collection features a large amount of unidentifiable glass sherds (n=74). However, like the F3 collection, the F4 glass artifact collection contains datable artifacts with specific uses. Beverage bottles (n=5) are again common among the identified glass artifacts from F4. Similar to the F3 discussion, many of the unidentified sherds are olive, clear, and brown glass that in all probability could be categorized as beverage bottles. Two of these beverage bottles are composed of brown glass, display clearly identifiable mold seams along the sides, and have maker's marks that read, *M G Co* (Modes Glass Company) embossed on the bottom of the bottle, suggesting a possible date as early as 1880 and certainly sometime after 1895 (Figure 43; Lindsey 2010).

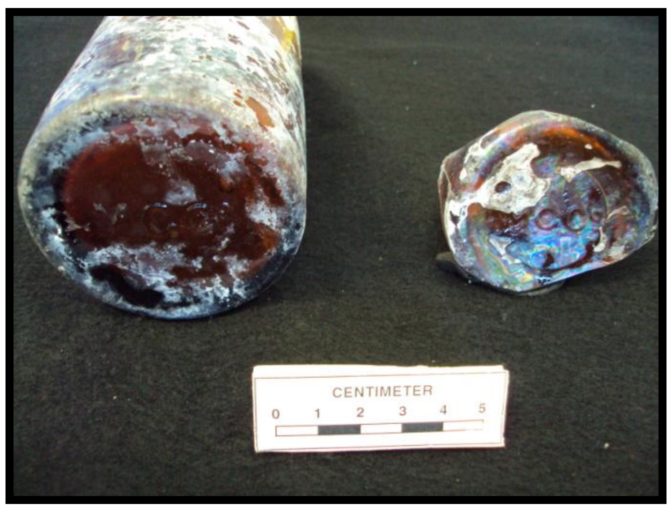


Figure 43: Embossed beverage bottles from F4.

Only two bottles identified with medicinal uses were recovered from F4, one of which displayed clearly diagnostic attributes. The single prescription style bottle displays mold seams along the sides of the bottle, but these disappear at the bottle's shoulder, and it features a single embossed panel that reads *A. NETTE APOTHECARY SAN ANTONIO TEXAS*. An advertisement from the *San Antonio Express* dated February 19, 1867 reveals that A. Nette was a pharmacist located on Commerce Street (north side of the Main Plaza) that also sold Hungarian leeches (Figure The San Antonio Express, 1867).

The fragmented remains of a single *LEA & PERRIN'S WORECESTSHIRE SAUCE* bottle with the letters A C B Co. embossed on the bottom were also recovered from F4 (Figure 44). The maker's mark suggests that this bottle was produced by Aire and Clader Glass Bottle Company from Yorkshire, England and dates to the 1865 at the earliest, and possibly as late as 1877 (Lindsey 2010). Finally, kitchen or domestic artifacts made of glass (n=5) are also popular in the F4 collection, where five pieces of clear glass represent two goblets.

Figure 44: *LEA & PERRIN'S WORECESTSHIRE SAUCE* bottle from F4.

Feature 5

Like the respective ceramic collections, the F5 and F4 glass collections appear to be very similar. Analysis revealed that four of the F5 specimen are beverage bottles, and, like F4, two are composed of brown glass, display clearly identifiable mold seams along the sides, and have maker's marks that read, *M G Co* embossed on the bottom of the bottle, suggesting a possible date as early as 1880 and certainly sometime after 1895 (Lindsey 2010). Similarly, F5 contained three bottles identified as having medicinal uses, one of which a prescriptions style bottle featuring an embossed panel reading, *A. NETTE*

APOTHECARY SAN ANTONIO TEXAS (Figure 45). Other notable artifacts from the F5 collection include five pieces of glass resembling the two goblets recovered in F4, and a single tumbler glass. Like the F2, F3, and F4 collections, the F5 glass assemblage contains numerous sherds of unidentifiable pieces of clear, olive, and brown glass that likely can be attributed to beverage bottles.

Figure 45: *A. NETTE APOTHECARY SAN ANTONIO TEXAS* medicine bottle from F5.

Metal

Metal artifacts account for over 2,800 artifacts recovered from 41BX1753. Like the glass collection, most of the metal artifacts were recovered from F3 (n=2074), representing over 72% of all metal artifacts recovered at 41BX1753. Many of the metal artifacts recovered at 41BX1753 are unidentifiable concretions or small pieces of ferrous and cuprous materials. However, those that I was able to identify suggest numerous contexts including architectural, household, and personal uses.

Table 3: Types of Metal Arifacts by Feature

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
Architectural		24	176	68	63
Household Uses	27	3	91	2	
Personal	9	8	5	3	
Kitchen Uses	14	15	7		3
Activity	20		2	1	
Unidentified	12	248	1793	136	126
Total	82	298	2074	210	192

Feature 1

The F1 metal artifact collection represents a sample of the larger assemblage observed during excavation, except that collection methods clearly showed preference for identifiable and diagnostic artifacts. As a result, many of the F1 metal artifacts are complete or readily identifiable, which may explain the absence of architectural-related artifacts within the F1 collection. The F1 metal artifacts identified as having "household uses" (n=27) are primarily composed of twenty pieces of one large cuprous oil lamp and four pieces of at least one other. Similarly, all fourteen metal artifacts from F1 with "kitchen uses" represent six cuprous spoons. Interestingly, the artifacts associated with "personal" uses (n=9) appear to represent pieces of a cuprous concretion of percussion caps (n=3), and two pieces of a possible trigger guard (n=2). Available by 1830, percussion caps innovated firearms by replacing the unreliable flintlock system (Winant 1956). By 1850, percussion caps became integrated into the cartridge, and the introduction of the breach-loading cartridge in the 1860s made the percussion cap obsolete (Winant 1956). The twenty artifacts representing the "activity" group join to form an unidentified pump mechanism.

Feature 2

Aside from the 248, mostly ferrous unidentified metal objects, artifacts identified with "architectural" uses (n=24) are the most common type of metal artifacts from F1, with twenty two cut nails and two ferrous eyelets. "Personal" items include three cuprous and one ferrous button, three cuprous unidentified decorative pieces, and an unidentified coin about the size of a dime. Antonio de la Garza became the first person to produce money in Texas when he received permission from the Spanish governor to produce coins in 1818. These coins are about the size of a dime and read ‘JAG, 1818’ on the obverse and have a single star on the reverse, none of which are present on the coin found in F2 (Orozco 2010). “Household” items located in F2 include the upper portion of a cuprous candlestick, the remnants of a pair of scissor-like candlesnuffer, and an upholstery tack (Figure 45). Finally, the fifteen “kitchen” related metal artifacts from F2 represent pieces of at least three knife blades, all of which are extremely deteriorated and without handles.

Figure 46: F2 metal artifacts: Left: Cuprous candleholder; Right: Cuprous end of scissor-like candlesnuffer.

Feature 3

As noted, the F3 metal collection represents the largest assemblage of metal artifacts from the 41BX1753 collection. However, like the F2 metal collection, the majority of the F3 metal artifacts are unidentifiable ferrous metal samples (n=1304). Artifacts with architectural uses are the most common in the F3 collection, with cut nails (n=143), tacks or fence staples (n=13), rivets (n=10), and a door handle (n=1). Household artifacts also make up a large portion of the F3 collection. However, seventy eight of the ninety one F3 metal artifacts with household uses join to form at least four separate cuprous oil lamps and another oil lamp composed of lead. The few kitchen-related artifacts represent three spoons and two cuprous bowl-like vessels. Finally, a single United States minted $1 “Indian Princess Head” gold coin was recovered from F3 (Figure 46; Breen 1988, 479). This “Type II” gold dollar actually represents the *Venus Accroupie,* and due to a stamping defect associated with the image on the front of the coin , the majority of the reverse images of these vintages wore down quickly rendering the date illegible on many coins (Breen 1988, 479). For this reason, most of the “Type II” coins were returned to Philadelphia to be recoined (Breen 1988, 479). Minted primarily between 1854 and 1855 in limited quantities, the “Type II” gold dollars were quickly replaced in 1856 by an improved design (Breen 1988, 479).

Figure 47: Obverse view of 1855 “Indian Princess Head” coin.

Feature 4

Over 77% of the F4 metal artifacts are the pieces of unidentified objects (n=136). Likewise, the majority of the metal artifacts with architectural uses (n=62) represent ferrous cut nails. Other metal artifacts from F4 include a table knife with a celluloid handle, a cuprous candlestick, a horseshoe, and three cuprous buttons.

Feature 5

Like the F4 collection, the F5 metal artifacts are predominately unidentified ferrous materials (n=126) and cut ferrous nails (n=67), while the three kitchen items join to make a single cuprous spoon.

Lithics and Fire Cracked Rock Artifact

Lithic artifacts are relatively uncommon in the 41BX1753 artifact assemblage. Widely used by indigenous people prior to European contact, stone tools and their byproducts made from chert are also common to early colonial sites in San Antonio (Figueroa and Maudlin 2005; Fox 1977; D. Fox et al. 1977; Katz et al. 1978; Labadie 1986; Turner and Hester 1985). The F2 collection contains the most lithic samples by far with 165 samples of chert and fire cracked rock (FCR), while no lithic artifacts were collected from F1, five were recovered from F3, two pieces of FCR were found in F4, and a single chert flake comes from the F5 collection.

Table 4: Distribution of Lithic Artifacts and FCR by Feature

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
Debitage		66	2		1
Shatter		44	1		
Gun Flints		4			
Utilized Flakes		2			
FCR		43	2	2	
Unidentified Lithic		6			
Total	0	165	5	2	1

Feature 2

The majority of the F2 lithic collection is composed of chert debitage (n=66), a byproduct of the reductionist method of flint knapping. Generally, when making chert or flint tools, a core is reduced to a workable flake that requires more chipping to fashion into a usable tool (Turner and Hester 1985). The initial chipping away from the core during this process creates debitage referred to as primary cortex flakes, while further chipping produces secondary flakes displaying both previous removal and remaining cortex. Further working of the secondary flakes creates tertiary flakes which exhibit no signs of surface cortex (Turner and Hester 1985). The F2 debitage collection includes one primary flake, fourteen secondary flakes, and fifty one tertiary flakes. Similarly, the F2 lithic collection contains numerous pieces of lithic shatter (n=44), or small pieces of chert that show no diagnostic signs of knapping, and may be a product of heat treatment (Turner and Hester 1985). 43 pieces of thermally altered chert cobbles were recovered from F2, all displaying signs of heat spalling or other diagnostic signs of being subjected to high temperatures.

The F2 collection did include a few occurrences of chert tools including four gunflints and two tertiary flakes displaying signs of usage. Gun flints, also common to early San Antonio sites, were phased out as nineteenth century technology, such as the percussion cap (see above) became more popular (Labadie 1986). Three of the four gun flints were recovered from the F2 bulk removal, and are generally unprovenienced, but all four are similar in style and are well utilized. The two utilized flakes are small bifacial chert flakes with obvious signs of use at their distal ends.

Other Artifacts

Artifacts of interest within the 41BX1753 collection that do not necessarily fit into the categories described above feature numerous personal items and various architectural materials. While the personal items have been extensively analyzed, the building materials, most of which came from F2, did not receive as much attention and deserve a closer look in the future.

Feature 1

Cataloged personal items from 41BX1753 are dominated by beads, buttons, and toothbrushes. F1 contained buttons composed of milk glass (n=5), shell (n=1), and bone (n=1), eleven pieces of thinly cut slate, that may be architectural, or may represent a slate chalkboard, and a polished bone chess pawn or gaming piece.

Feature 2

All artifacts determined to be 'personal items' recovered from F2 (n=9) are composed of polished bone and include two buttons with singular center holes and another with five holes that may date from 1750 to 1830 (Olson 1963: 553). The F2 collection also includes two polished bone toothbrushes and other unidentified polished bone artifacts. F2 contained the most architectural remains of all five features with 123 pieces of handmade brick and 166 pieces of what appears to be plaster. Further analysis of these materials may indicate the source location of these materials.

Feature 3

The F3 collection also contains various buttons composed of milk glass (n=16), shell (n=9), bone (n=2), and an unidentified material (n=1). Beads recovered from F3 include a small spherical blue glass bead, a green hexagonal emerald green glass bead, and nine spherical glass black beads that may represent rosary beads. Handmade bricks (n=16) and plaster (n=5), and slate (n=1) were also present in F3.

Feature 4

F4 personal items are limited to 2 milk glass buttons, four shell buttons, and two black glass buttons. Similarly, F4 only contained six pieces of brick, two slate fragments, and one small piece of plaster.

Feature 5

Thirteen brick fragments, one sample of plaster, and a single slate fragment were recovered from F5. However, the F5 collection does include eight identical molded milk glass buttons in addition to three other milk glass buttons and a single button made of bone. The F5 collection also includes a polished bone toothbrush.

Faunal Remains

As previously mentioned, the 41BX1753 faunal collection remains unanalyzed, and represents a major shortcoming of the research associated with this site. However, a comprehensive assemblage of comparative collections of faunal materials are prevalent in the city of San Antonio and the greater south-central Texas region, with an especially useful analysis at 41BX1598, located on the north side of the Main Plaza (Figueroa and

Maudlin 2005). Furthermore, in absence of formal analysis, there are clear trends obvious within the 41BX1753 collection worth noting.

In terms of types of faunal remains, the F1, F3, F4 and F5 collections closely resemble each other with butchered bones and specific cuts of beef are well represented. It seems that cattle remains are the most common sample, and single-portion sized cuts are observed through the numerous t-bone and round-eye cuts (Figure 48).

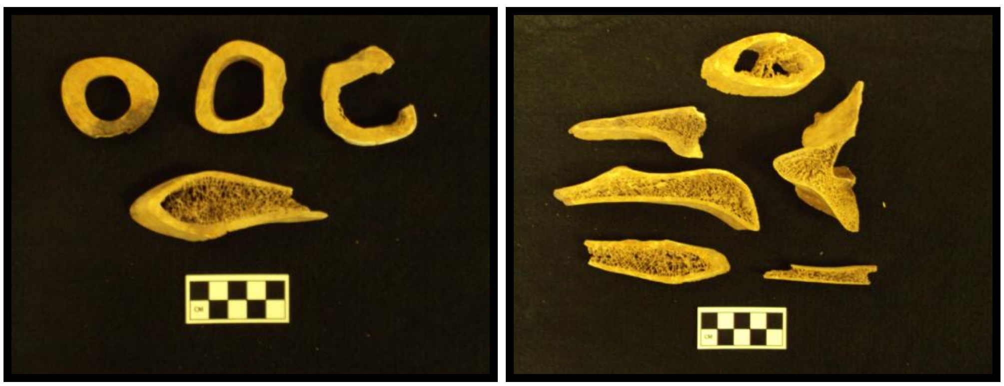


Figure 48: Cut Bone: Left: F3 Right: F4

The F2 collection is much more voluminous and diverse than the other four features. With over 5000 samples, the F2 faunal collection represents 74% of all artifacts recovered from F2, indicating the importance of the F2 faunal collection. As suggested, an overview of the F2 collection displays diversity and cattle, pig, bison, bird, and rodent bones are complemented by at least 70 mussel shells. Unlike the other features, the F2 vertebrate faunal remains are not butchered into single serving sizes, with many nearly complete long bones located with the collection (Figure 49). The importance of the F2 collection cannot be understated, and future research should focus on a comparative analysis of contemporary sites.

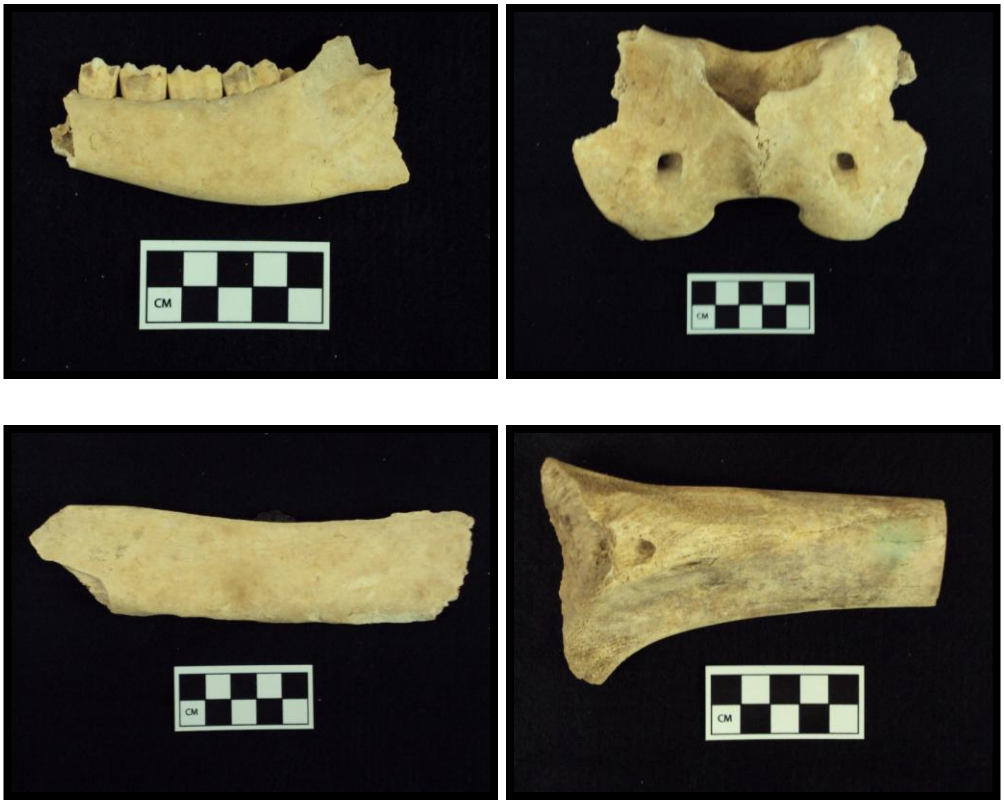


Figure 49: F2 faunal material

Discussion

The features located at 41BX1753 are representative of the long history of occupation on the Main Plaza. The cistern (F2), the two privies (F1 and F3), and the trash pits (F4 and F5) clarify the story told in the archival record. Based on diagnostic ceramics, the deeply stratified cistern full of domestic wares and faunal remains can easily be attributed to the Delgado family home and to their lives on New Spain's northern frontier. The abundance of artifacts located at the bottoms of F1 and F3 indicate that the hotel on the south side of the plaza was a booming business as early as the late 1840s. Conversely, the two trash pits (F4 and F5) reveal that the St. Leonard Hotel may not have been as opulent as the 1870s pamphlet suggests (Reilly n.d.). However, the features and the associated artifacts disclose much more than just the material clarification of the archival record. These artifacts, when viewed within their specific historic, economic, and social contexts in relation to particular agents, allow for a deeper analysis about the people who occupied and owned the property. The interrelationships between these people and the material record when examined within specific, and often overlapping contexts, can reveal interesting notions of identity that cannot be determined through the archival record alone.

A more recent trend in literature has focused on locating Tejanos and other populations that traditionally have been overlooked in Texas history (de la Teja 2010; Poyo 1996). While these outstanding pieces of historic research explore ideas like identity, none of them approach the concept through the material record. Similarly, the rich archaeological tradition in San Antonio has uncovered a comprehensive material record and has systematically examined the archival record to make important determinations about what life was like in South Central Texas' past. Unparalleled in scale and effort, the vast amount of archaeology performed in San Antonio provides the impetus for the current investigation to dig deeper and begin to examine the discourse between the material record, the archival record, and the development of identity. This concluding piece examines the artifacts from the five features at 41BX1753 in relation to the individuals located in the archival record to begin to make assumptions about ideas of identity that are ultimately tied to class. Because 41BX1753 documents occupation from the eighteenth century through the late nineteenth century and includes multiple eras of revolution and the emergence of capitalism, it has to be assumed that the identities that this investigation aims to explore are both dynamic and complex. Furthermore, this investigation is admittedly limited by the scope of the archaeological investigation and the scale of the archival examination, resulting in the determination that the assumptions posited in this analysis are in no way absolute.

In terms of situating an analysis around the process of identity formation as recognized in the material and archival records, the investigation needs to operate under a conception of practice theory that views social structures, such as class, as being produced and reproduced by the deliberate and unintentional use of objects or space by individuals in everyday life. In the case of Spanish Colonial San Antonio, a pre-established Iberian castas system defined by class, race, and ethnicity was transposed onto an isolated northern frontier. However, the realities of early life on the northern frontier were subsistence farming and tough conditions that limited wealth and resulted in little class differentiation (de la Teja 1995: 75). Acts such as the continual demands by Juan Leal Goraz Sr. to the viceroy and governor, and the regular claims to noble privilege by the Isleños were early deliberate actions to assert authority, establish hierarchy, and maintain class position. The castas system in San Antonio was contested from the moment the Isleños came to town by those at the Presidio (agregados), who also controlled commerce in San Antonio as a frontier outpost until the end of the eighteenth century (de la Teja 1995: 154). The contested status of the Isleño families situated in the reality of a harsh frontier with very little economic opportunity and regular intermarriage resulted in reshaping the sistema de castas and producing a Béxareño identity based on civic pride, autonomy, and economic opportunity.

An emerging social hierarchy with an elite class made of old military and Isleño families appears in the archival record in the form of their ranching disputes with the missions that established their economic and political dominance in Béxar. Major political actions associated with the Casas Revolt and the Gutiérrez-Magee Expedition could be interpreted as practices of, and attempts to maintain social, political, and economic status. Actions of social positioning are easily accessible when viewed in the context of major historical events documented in early Béxar's history. However, the nuances of status performances occur in daily practices, reproducing hierarchies and reinforcing identities. In this sense, the material record offers the opportunity to decipher everyday practices of class that form and reform identity.

The most obvious practice of status tied to identity recognizable in the material record deals with space, and the physical location and types of features located at 41BX1753. By the late eighteenth century, the Delgado family had already experienced relative economic success and certainly had achieved wealth in the form of land. The contemporaneous appearance of F2 as a deep cistern suggests that the traditional use of the near-by acequia had been abandoned. This assumption is made clear in both an 1813 inventory of Clemente Delgado's estate that makes no reference to water rights associated with the stone house on the plaza, and again after Clemente Delgado's death when this property is granted to his daughter and no water rights are transferred (Delgado 1837). The abandonment of irrigation-based subsistence farming on this city lot during this specific time not only suggests a drastic alteration of traditional land use patterns, but may have other underlying implications regarding the social, political, and economic structures in San Antonio. The presence of a cistern or well and the abandoned use of the acequia suggests a household decision to replace the acequia with an alternative, but less reliable water source, therefore minimizing the efficiency of the fertile solar. This decision suggests that by the late eighteenth century, Clemente Delgado and his family no longer required the city lot as a space to grow food in order to survive, as had been the case in past decades (de la Teja 1995: 47; 75). The implications are indicative of an emerging capitalist economy, where an apparent surplus had been established, and, those who could afford to do so were able to abandon traditional strategies of survival for new market opportunities. The elite families were the same individuals who received title to, and use of the surrounding land for cattle ranching and farming, and they were also those who controlled the local markets. In this case, the status-based identity that was directly tied to the prestigious location of the Delgado household on the south side of the Main Plaza was reinforced by abandoning the traditional daily practices of subsistence farming on the urban lot.

Similarly, trends present in the F2 ceramic collection indicate consumer choices Clemente Delgado and his family made that may also suggest material markers of a class-based identity. Diagnostic ceramics suggest that F2 was in use as early as the late 1760s through sometime in the early 1830s. Coincidentally, the most diagnostic ceramics recovered from F2 are those with English origins, which were located in every level including the appearance of creamware (n=2), pearlware (n=4), and annularware (n=1) at the deepest excavated level (210 cmbs). As noted, Spain did not open New Spain to trade with England until 1789, suggesting the presence of a contraband trade in Texas during the colonial period (Gibson 1966: 173; Hussey 1963; 329). Only a few years later, the contraband trade was recognized again during the Mexican Revolution when "nearly all the prominent families of San Antonio" are involved in arrests and confiscations of contraband from the United States (Fox 1992: 74). With artifactual evidence of easy access to Mexican tin enameled and lead-glazed ceramics as well as what appears to be healthy local tradition of Goliad ware ceramics, the acquisition of restricted English and American ceramics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have to be recognized as deliberate actions.

The argument could be made that because of the limited opportunities to acquire material wealth on the frontier at this time, San Antonio's prominent families including the Delgado family, sought after these imported ceramics to create material representations of class differentiation. English ceramic technologies producing high-fired clear-glazed ceramics would certainly stand in juxtaposition to the porous, gray, and dull local Goliad wares, where exotic, rare, and illegally acquired goods may have been seen as prestige goods. However, these choices may have served other intentions. The participation of San Antonio's elite in illegal contraband trade may reflect acts of self-positioning to establish their own political alliances as well as establishing an identity as an economically autonomous group. By expanding their local market through the inclusion of the contraband trade, Béxar's elite would also develop relationships with traders from England and the United States. Meaningful interpretations of these established relationships may include political decisions such as Béxar's elite wide support for the U.S. sponsored, Gutiérrez-Magee Expedition in 1813. Similarly, the appearance of English-made ceramics in a context that pre-dates open markets could be determined as a sign of the contraband trade in the material record. A more meaningful interpretation of the presence of contraband in the material record could be that by seeking out material goods so very different from the traditional Iberian and New World indigenous ceramics, these people were making conscious efforts to distance themselves from both Spain and Mexico and materially establish their own identities. In this sense, the everyday use of material items is a part of a process that constructs an alternative identity that becomes realized through critical political actions. As a process performed within a unique social hierarchy, identity is inseparable from class, ethnicity, and politics. As the decision makers in San Antonio, the choices the elite Béxareños made ultimately decided the community's political direction. As a group concerned with establishing economic and political autonomy and their own class based identity, it is no wonder that these choices would eventually culminate in revolution.

Gaps in the material and archival records associated with the era leading up to, and directly following, the Texas Revolution speak volumes regarding an era of uncertainty for those living in San Antonio. It is no coincidence that the scarcity of material and written records regarding the subject tract is linked to a time of revolution complete with the occupation of the Main Plaza by the Mexican army during the Siege of Béxar in 1835. It is also not surprising that during this time of monumental change, the subject tract unexplainably came into Jose Antonio de la Garza's possession. As noted, J.A. de la Garza represented one of San Antonio's most powerful families, and he was one of the region's most powerful individuals, occupying numerous political roles in addition to being the first person to coin money in the region in 1818. With an already prominent household just north of the plaza and vast ranch lands in the area, it is logical that he would be interested in obtaining another prominent piece of real estate on the south side of the plaza. As with the discussion of the Delgado family's occupation of the property, an analysis of the de la Garza family's use of the subject tract, as reflected in the archival and material records, is relevant to a greater discussion regarding a process of identity formation. Situated within the historical context of the western expansion of the United States and the realization of an open capitalist market, the material remains within F1, F3, F4, and F5 in association with choices documented in the archival record indicate the continuation of a process of constructing and reconstructing identity to maintain what had become a contested social hierarchy. In this context, the de la Garza family was required to navigate a landscape of changing perceptions of a social structure that could no longer be outright dominated by the elite families in San Antonio. In order to maintain family wealth, prestige, and position, necessary changes had to be made in everything from political alignments, economic strategies, social arrangements, and daily consumption practices. Through this process of accommodation, adaptation, and self-positioning, the de la Garza family was able to maintain a position of prominence in a reorganized social hierarchy while assisting in restructuring the landscape of the Main Plaza itself.

As with the Delgado family, the most meaningful practice established by the de la Garza family was the way in which the family utilized the physical space of the property. As a quickly growing city with a flood of Anglo-American immigrants arriving daily, the family must have quickly realized the opportunity that a piece of property in the city's central locale held. Shortly after acquiring the property, the de la Garza family added a second story to Clemente Delgado's single story home, in what appears to be a an attempt to maximize the property's value as a boarding house. Other early alterations to the property such as the addition of at least two very large privies, recognized as F1 and F3 in this investigation, were required to accommodate the property's use as a multi-occupant residence. However, the most significant alteration of space utilization by the de la Garza family occurred shortly after statehood in 1847, when J.A. de la Garza entered into a legal agreement with his neighbor Antonia Salinas. In this agreement, de la Garza paid Salinas fifteen loads of stone and five pesos for the half vara that his living room wall extended onto her property (Béxar County Deed Records F-2: 179-180). This agreement suggests that de la Garza wanted to resolve the defects associated with his property identified by F. Giraud in his 1847 survey of the city. It remains uncertain if J.A. de la Garza entered into this agreement to prepare to open a business. Regardless of motive, the purpose of the agreement was to clearly define his private property boundaries, suggesting a need for clearly defined property values as a result of a changing economy. Before that, property along the plaza was understood as familial property, and passed from generation to generation in order to maintain continuity and retain the property in the family. As San Antonio became less isolated and more integrated into a capitalist economy, it would also have to alter the way the city did business. In this sense, the change in land use from a traditional single family domestic occupation to a legally defined commercial property is extremely meaningful to this analysis. In what had been a marker of social prestige in decades past, property on the Plaza after the Texas Revolution and into statehood now represented economic opportunity and capitalist enterprise. As this break in traditional land practices and use of space became common throughout the entire plaza, links to eighteenth century social structures would also be compromised.

While the archival record does not clarify exactly when the de la Garza family began to utilize the property as a hotel, the material record clearly indicates that the property was being used as such as early as the late 1840s, making it one of the earliest businesses of its kind on the plaza. Furthermore, the voluminous amount of alcoholic beverage bottles, pharmaceutical bottles, and faunal remains recovered from the F1 and F3 suggest that this pioneering business was also a well patronized saloon and restaurant in addition to the hotel. Despite this success, there is a little early archival evidence linking the de la Garza family to the day to day business, making it unlikely that these artifacts directly reflect the de la Garza family's consumption patterns or consumer decisions. What the evidence does suggest is that the de la Garza family may have limited their role to property landlords. This role has built-in notions of class by placing distance between the tenants and the "property owners," positioning the de la Garza family in a class above the "propertyless workers" (Tucker 1978: 70).

The archival record indicates that by the time he outright acquired the property in 1871, Leonardo de la Garza had embraced this role of landlord and found ways to manipulate the property for profit. Either by outright selling the south half of parcel or by entering into loan agreements with the Bakers, Leonardo de la Garza managed to make money from his inherited property. However, his business practices associated with the subject tract seem to share a general theme, in that all transactions are made exclusively with Anglo-American buyers and renters. Furthermore, this trend does not seem to be limited to Leonardo's business practices. As a graduate of Williams College in Massachusetts who married into a politically engaged Irish family, Leonardo de la Garza made conscious decisions in his personal life that aligned him with the emerging Anglo-American population in San Antonio. The accommodation of this Anglo-immigrant population is clearly recognized in the material record from F1, F3, F4, and F5. Products such as hair care tonics from New York, Jamaican ginger extract from Philadelphia, spirits from Pittsburg, French wines, and Staffordshire ceramics dominate these collections. Concomitantly, the relatively few artifacts representing locally made products in the 41BX1753 collection, such as the A. Nette Apothecary bottles appear to also cater to an Anglo-American population. In this sense, the massive influx of Anglo-immigrants required Béxareños to alter numerous daily practices by, ultimately changing how they lived in their own city. From the physical transformation of the plaza as the domestic center of an Iberian-inspired city into a western center of capitalism to the adoption of imported everyday products, San Antonio saw drastic changes throughout the nineteenth century. In an effort to deal with this change Béxareños were forced to adapt and make accommodations to preserve some vestige of long held social positions. Leonardo de la Garza practices of accommodation were significant actions in his personal and professional lives that had meaningful implications towards his identity as a descendant of an original settler, as a nineteenth century businessman, and as a husband and father. Efforts to maintain inherited wealth, social status, and political relevancy were mediated by obtaining an American education, marrying an Irish wife with a politically powerful family, and using imported items from the U.S. and Europe. The F1, F3, F4 and F5 artifact assemblages are representative of larger trends in nineteenth century San Antonio of both a growing Anglo-immigrant population and the associated adoption of non-local goods that resulted in abandoning traditional practices and in massive shifts in social structure. The relevant actions by people like Leonardo de la Garza in the face of such change point to negotiations in a process of identity formation and reformation that ultimately had meaningful outcomes in reorganizing the social structure in San Antonio.

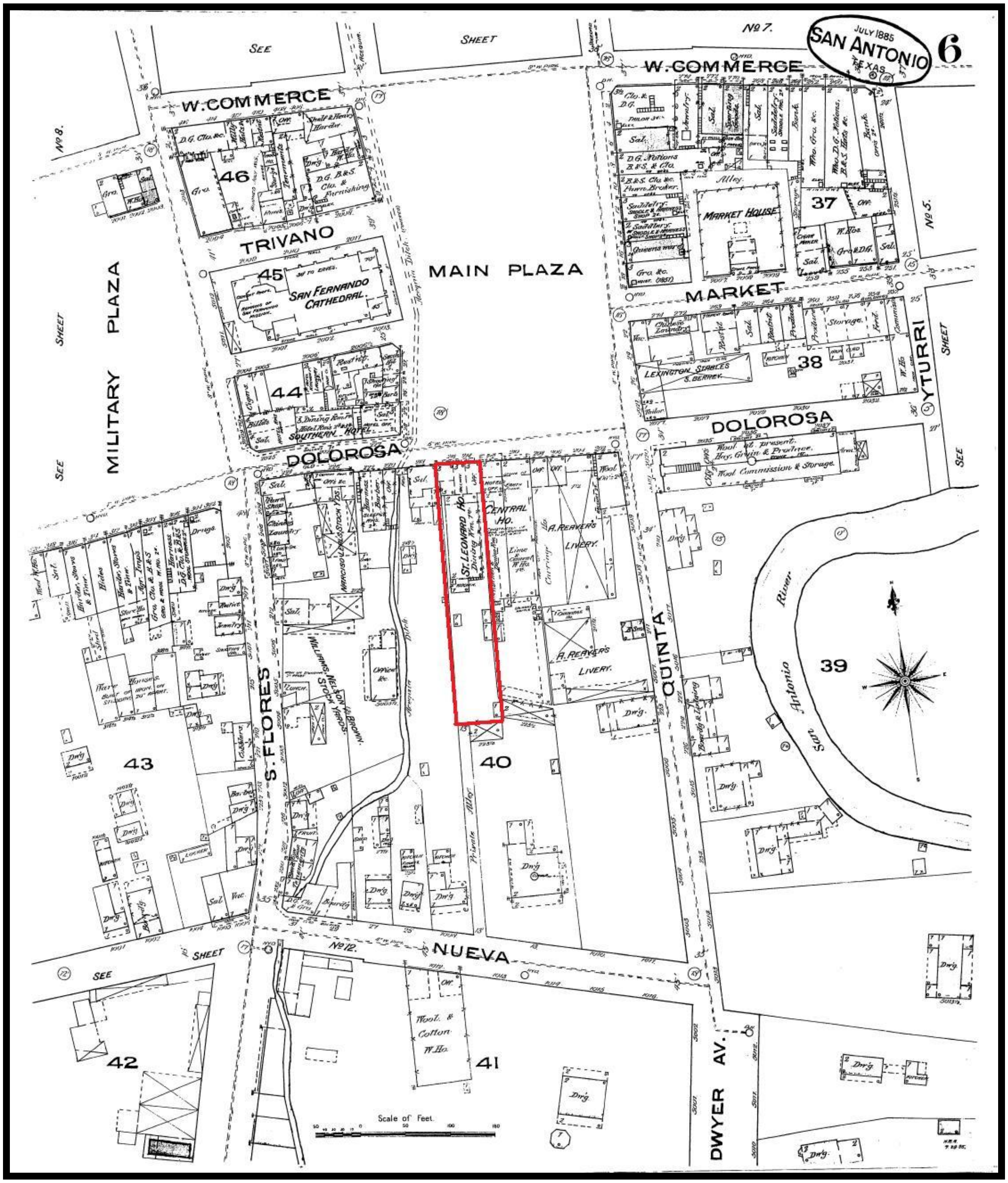
The current investigation presents the actions and choices of two of San Antonio's oldest families as they appear in the archival and archaeological records. As a family trying to assert their social power in an isolated frontier setting, the Delgado family altered the space around them and went out of their way to obtain foreign goods, creating material difference to legitimize perceived social structure. By adopting American and British goods and by abandoning traditional modes of production, the Delgado family redefined how an elite Béxareño family lived. Trends, such as the early appearance of English ceramics in downtown San Antonio, are not unique to 41BX1753, and the archival record indicates that the elite families in San Antonio were clearly involved in an illegal contraband trade (Benevides 1989; Figueroa and Mauldin 2005; Fox 1993; Labadie 1986). The extensive evidence suggests that the Delgado family was not the only elite family executing strategies to create material difference. This materiality of status worked in combination with the traditional castas system producing the realities of a city government controlled by elite Béxareño families. It is reasonable to conclude that this social positioning was both a conscious and an unconscious effort to create and enforce an identity of local social superiority and regional economic and political autonomy through everyday actions. This identity which was formed, contested, and performed through Spanish colonial rule and during San Antonio's time under Mexico, was severely threatened in the 1830s. The influx of Anglo-American immigrants forever changed Béxar's traditional political and economic powers and social systems. Furthermore, by becoming a part of the United States, and integrating a large Anglo-immigrant population into their culture, the Béxareño and Tejano identities would come to face their most daunting challenge. The autonomy that seemed in reach at the beginning of the nineteenth century became complicated and problematic once San Antonio entered into a reordered world economy. The de la Garza family confronted these challenges through adaptation and accommodation. This family significantly helped to alter the landscape of the Main Plaza and San Antonio, redefined their role in a new economy, established business, political, and personal alliances with the Anglo immigrants, and embraced American and European material culture subverting what was previously perceived as appropriate behavior and altering expectations of social status. Again, the events portrayed here are not unique to 41BX1753. Some of the most prestigious and wealthiest families in San Antonio married into what would become powerful Anglo-American alliances, such as the marriage between the daughter of the wealthy merchant Juan Martin de Veramendi to James Bowie and the marriage between the prolific Leal family and the politically prominent Dwyer family (Hanson 2008; Williamson 2010). Similarly, archaeological sites in San Antonio dating after the Texas Revolution in 1836 are often dominated by ceramics of English origin and American imported products, making these strategies of accommodation common throughout the city (Fox 1993). The evidence here clearly indicates that this generation of Béxareños maintained their positions by sacrificing tradition, and fully immersing itself within western capitalist expansion. Practices of accommodation, adaptation, and capitalist enterprise altered an identity that was built on autonomy and inherited status. This process of alignment with an American population began as early as 1813, but changed San Antonio more than anyone could have anticipated. The choices made elite Béxareños throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had effects that forever altered the landscape of the city and the identities of the population.

Recommendations for Future Research

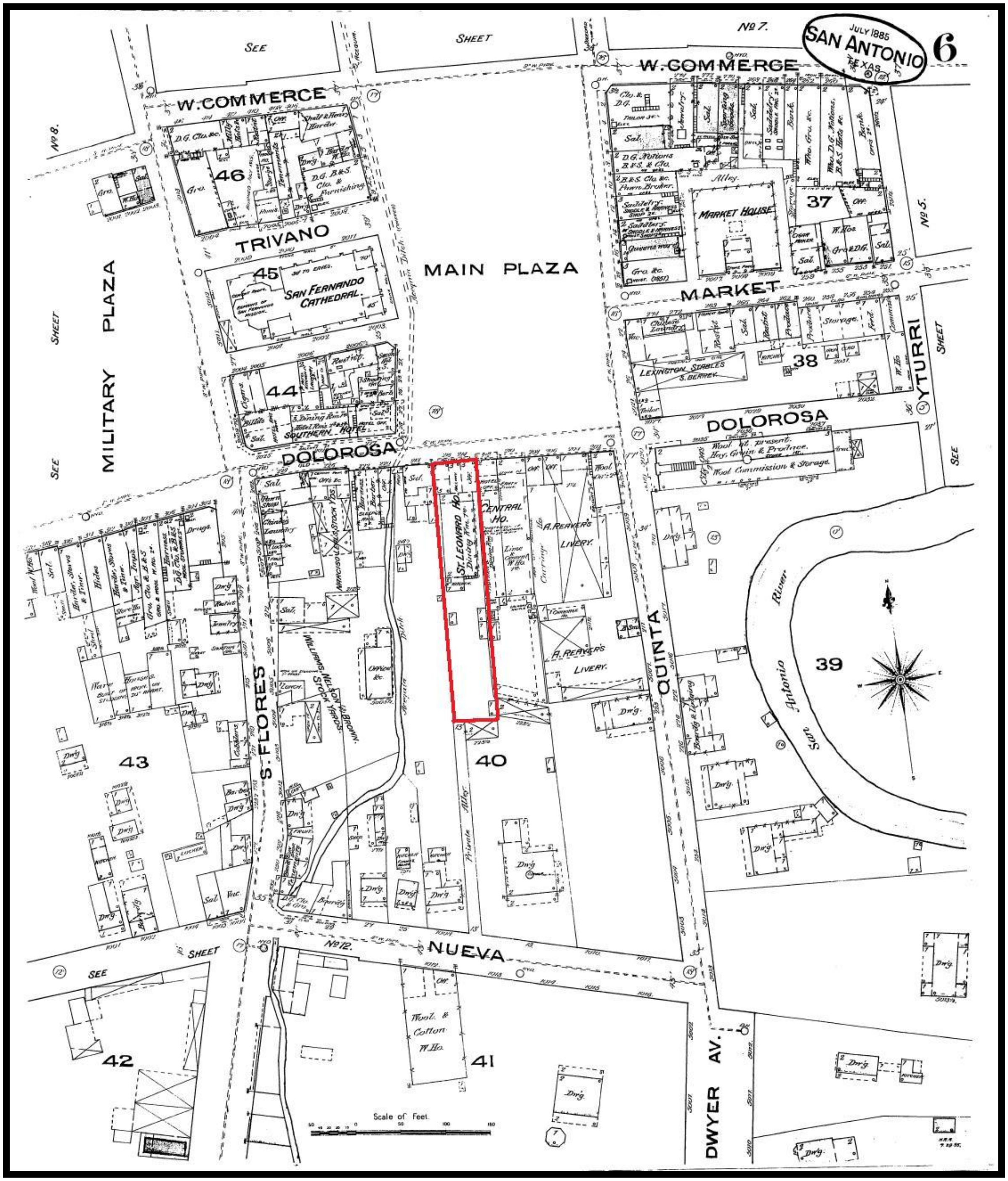
The present investigation includes very little comparative research in regards to the analysis of other archaeological sites and their relationships between specific agents, the material culture, and their perceived identities in San Antonio. Furthermore, this myopic approach only focuses on two families within the elite population of Béxar. Due to the nature of this analysis, it appears that the perspective I took is gender neutral, color blind, and class biased. The well documented archaeological record in San Antonio offers the opportunity to expand on this basic thesis and develop a full comparative approach. In specific, a direct comparison with the middens at 41BX1598 and La Villita (41BX677) and the Ruiz family house collection (41BX795) would be a beneficial and rewarding analysis. Concomitantly, an expanded archival study that focuses less on individuals and instead initiates a discourse focused on individuals' relationships with their community and region would highlight the complexity of interrelationships within specific hierarchical social structures and within the frontier commodities and labor markets.

This investigation also offers insight into ways to improve field and lab methodologies to allow for a more rounded analysis. The glaring omission of the faunal analysis represents a major short coming of this investigation. Similarly, the inclusion of methods such as botanical analysis, palynology, and phytolith analysis would only improve our understanding of how these people were using their space. Other related pitfalls of this investigation are related to the restrictions placed on the field investigations and artifact analysis by the nature of the investigation as a cultural resource management project. Limitations to excavate within a tightly defined project footprint hamper spatial analyses just as artifact sampling methods restrict data analyses. Again, these limitations suggest an opportunity to conduct cross comparison studies with other sites within the area to attempt to fill in spaces and make analyses more complete. Finally, this investigation does not pretend to present a grand narrative of how all elite Béxareños identified themselves during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Instead, this analysis should be recognized as a beginning to explore ideas such as identity in San Antonio as they can be interpreted through the archival and material records. The rich archaeological record in San Antonio offers an entry into these kinds of analyses. These types of archaeologically-centered studies have the ability to contest San Antonio's grand narrative that begins in 1836 with the Alamo, Davy Crockett, and Santa Anna. This narrative totally disregards the greater population and what daily life was actually like in San Antonio before and after this specific event. Detailed investigations that build on the present analysis can examine daily life in the past, and how peoples' actions continue to affect the social, economic, and political realities of the present.

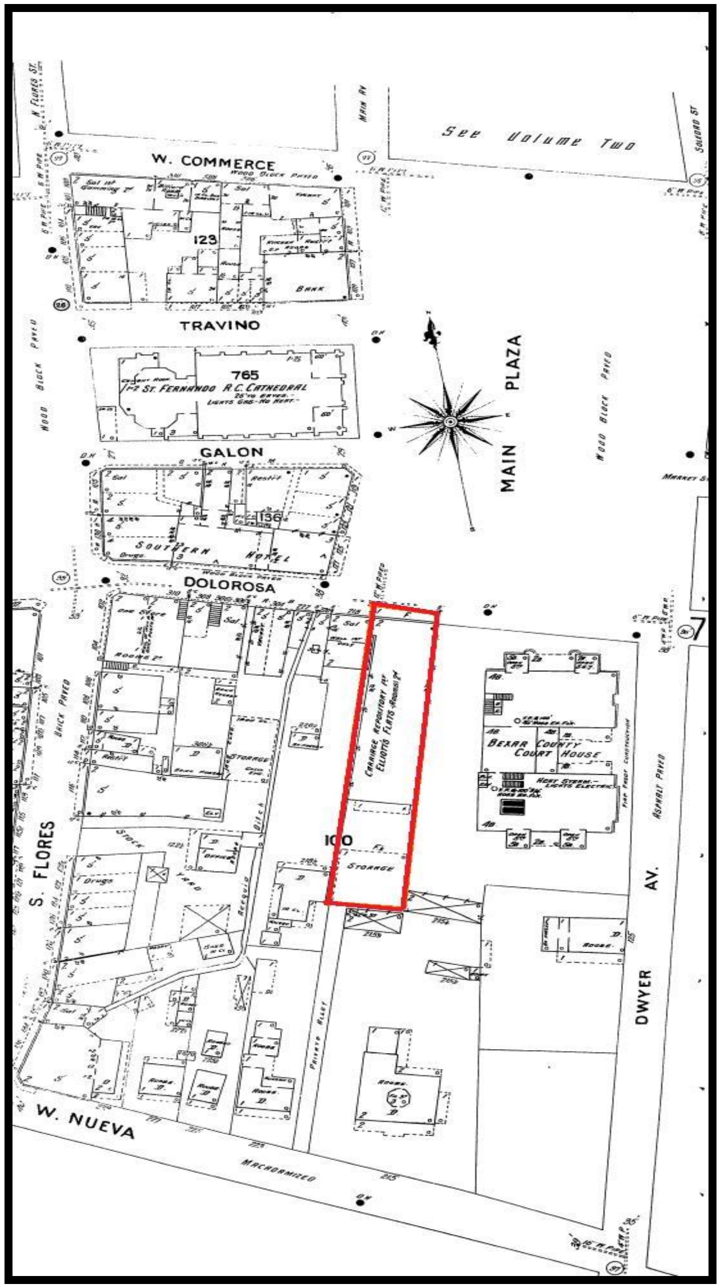
Appendix A



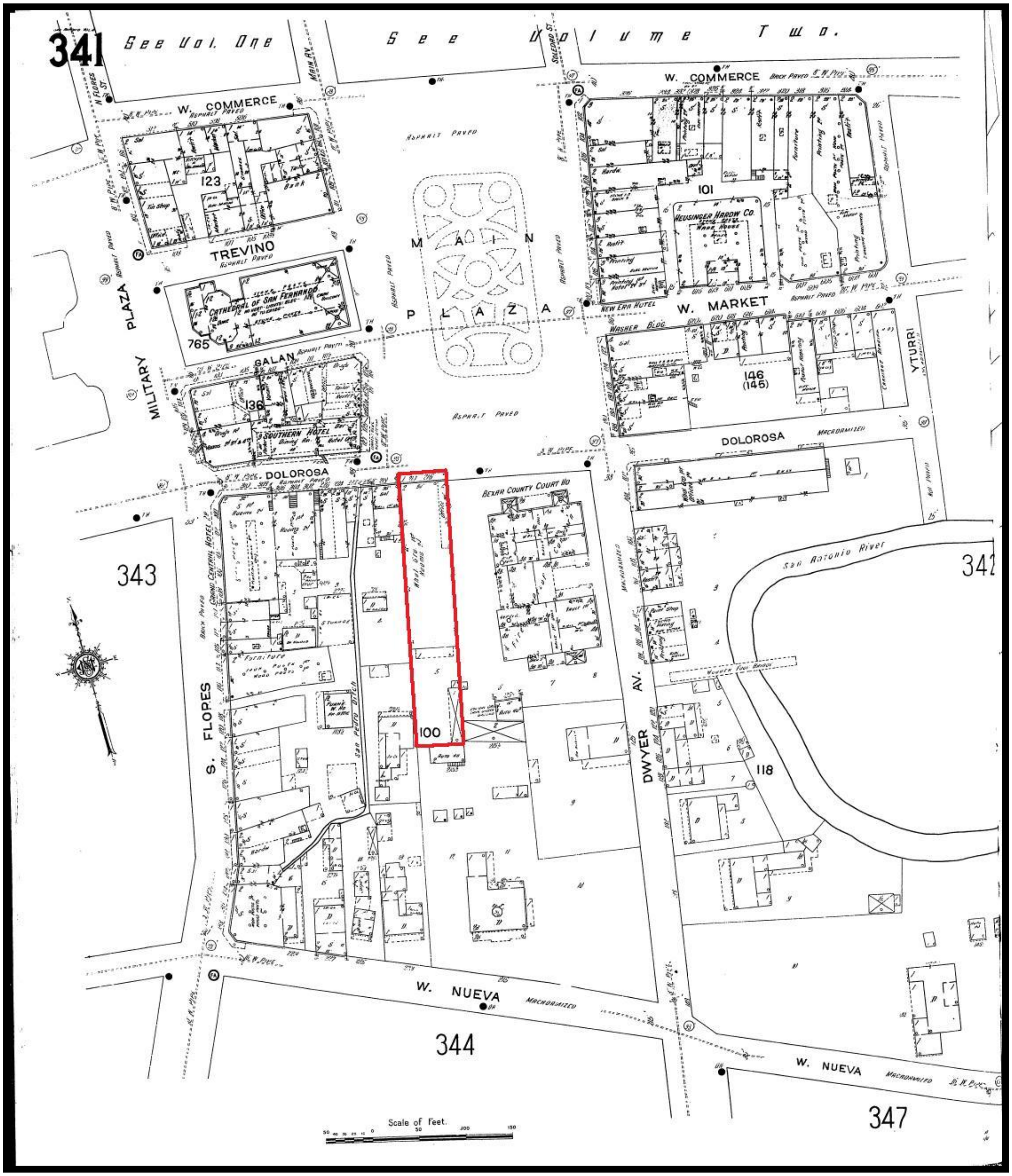
1885 Sanborn Insurance Fire Map of Main Plaza (subject tract in red)



1888 Sanborn Insurance Fire Map of Main Plaza (subject tract in red)



1904 Sanborn Insurance Fire Map of Main Plaza (subject tract in red)



1911 Sanborn Insurance Fire Map of Main Plaza (subject tract in red)

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